# BULLETIN of Friends Historical Association



QUAKERS IN RUSSIA

EARLIEST RECORDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING

BALTIMORE TO WAYNESVILLE IN 1805

#### Friends Historical Association

F RIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION is devoted to the study, preservation, and publication of material relating to the history of the Society of Friends. It was founded in Philadelphia in 1873 and incorporated in 1875. A similar group, Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1904, merged with the older body in 1923 to form an organization which has become national, even international in membership and interests, and which anyone, Friend or not, may join. Over six hundred members, in thirty states, in Canada, and abroad, belong to the ASSOCIATION. Sixty-four libraries in North America and Europe receive its principal publication, the semi-annual BULLETIN, begun in 1906; forty-four of these libraries have complete sets.

The Association holds two stated meetings each year, an annual meeting in Eleventh Month in Philadelphia, and a historical pilgrimage in Fifth Month to some region associated with the history of Quakerism.

Many Quaker historical relics belonging to the ASSOCIATION are on display in Philadelphia, at the Atwater Kent Museum, 15 South Seventh Street, and in Old City Hall in Independence Square.

Those who are interested in the objects of the Association are invited to send their names to Anna B. Hewitt, Assistant Editor, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania. The annual dues, which include a subscription to the BULLETIN are \$3.00; life membership is \$75.00; perpetual membership, \$1000.00.

General correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, Susanna Smedley, Westtown School, Westtown, Pennsylvania.

Editorial matters and manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the Editor, Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

The BULLETIN is sent to members free of charge. Libraries may subscribe through the Assistant Editor's office at \$1.50 per annum. Single copies are sold for \$1.50. Libraries can purchase microfilm copies from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

# THE BULLETIN OF Friends Historical Association

Spring Trainiber, 1991	
CONTENTS	
	PAGE
LESKOV ON QUAKERS IN RUSSIAWILLIAM EDGERTOR EARLIEST RECORDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING	;
HENRY J. CADBURY	r 16
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS—	
Baltimore to Waynesville in 1805 —	
Edited by Dorothy G. Harris	s 24
Guide to the Location of American Quaker Meeting Records — LYMAN W. RILEY AND FREDERICK B. TOLLE	
QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS	. 38
HISTORICAL NEWS	
BOOK REVIEWS	
Drake, Quakers and Slavery in AmericaRoy F. Nichola	s 45
Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry Francis D. Holi	E 46
Knox, EnthusiasmF. B. T	. 47
Cady and Clark, Whittier on Writers and Writing -	
EDWARD D. SNYDEI	R 49
Hinshaw, Rufus Jones: Master Quaker GEORGE A. WALTON	v 50
Woodman, Quakers Find a WayEDWIN A. SANDERS	
Alsop, History of the Woman's Medical College -	
RICHMOND P. MILLER	<b>53</b>
Oakley, The Holy ExperimentHEDLEY H. RHYS	5 54
Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life F. B. T	
Whitney, Journal of John Woolman	
BRIEFER NOTICES	. 58
ADTICLES IN QUAVED DEDIODICALS	69

#### OFFICERS OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President: WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Vice-Presidents: HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT
LYDIA FLAGG GUMMERE

Secretary: Susanna Smedley
Westtown School, Westtown, Pennsylvania

Treasurer: WILLIAM MINTZER WILLS
Merion Gardens, Merion Station, Pennsylvania

Curator: Lydia Flagg Gummere 3026 Midvale Avenue, Philadelphia 29

Assistant Curator: M. Joseph McCosker Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia 6

Editor of the Bulletin: FREDERICK B. TOLLES
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Assistant Editor: Anna B. Hewitt Haverford College Library Haverford, Pennsylvania

#### DIRECTORS

Elected at annual meetings held in 1948, 1949, and 1950

Term expires 11 mo. 1951

C. Marshall Taylor Frederick B. Tolles Edward E. Wildman H. Justice Williams

Term expires 11 mo. 1952

Samuel J. Bunting, Jr. William W. Comfort Thomas E. Drake Lydia F. Gummere

Anna B. Hewitt

Term expires 11 mo. 1953

Dorothy G. Harris Su Horace Mather Lippincott W Edward Woolman

Susanna Smedley William Mintzer Wills

## THE BULLETIN OF Friends Historical Association

Vol. 40

Spring Number, 1951

No. 1

#### LESKOV ON QUAKERS IN RUSSIA

By WILLIAM EDGERTON\*

HE complex and many-sided genius of Nikolai Semënovich Leskov (1831-1895), who might well be considered the most original storyteller in Russian literature, has not yet come into its own among English-speaking peoples. His racy, colorful language, though the delight of Russian readers, is almost the despair of translators; and of the more than thirty-six volumes of his purely literary works (not to speak of his voluminous correspondence and journalistic writings) fewer than half a dozen are as yet available in English.

Probably no Russian writer of his stature ever had a broader and more intimate knowledge of Russian life and the Russian people. He knew Russia too well at first hand to be either a good radical or a thoroughgoing reactionary, and as a result the radicals of his own day called him a reactionary and the reactionaries had him dismissed from a Government job for supposedly being a radical. Several of his works, including his greatest satire, were never allowed to be printed under the tsarist censorship and have been published only since the Soviet Revolution. On the other hand, the religious element in his writings seems to have made him, like Dostoyevsky, an awkward subject for Soviet scholars to handle. No complete edition of his works has been published in Soviet Russia, and the number

<sup>\*</sup> William Edgerton is Assistant Professor of Russian at Pennsylvania State College.

of his individual works that have appeared in Soviet editions is small. Nevertheless, he is treated favorably, though briefly, in the literary textbooks now used in Soviet schools, which state that his talent was revealed particularly in his tales and novels about the life of the Russian priesthood and mention by name his *Details of Episcopal Life* and his masterpiece *The Cathedral Folk*. Neither of these, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been reprinted in the Soviet Union.

It is just this religious element in Leskov's life and works that links him at a number of interesting points to Quakerism. By his own statement one of the lifelong influences of his childhood was an aunt of his who married an Englishman, became the close friend of an English Quaker girl who had gone to Russia as a governess, and finally adopted the Quaker way of life herself. Leskov gives a delightful and at times deeply moving account of this Aunt Polly and her Quaker friend Hildegarde in one of the best of his later works, Vale of Tears (1892), which has never been translated into English.

The response of his readers to this account of Aunt Polly and her Quaker friend led Leskov to write a special article "On Quakeresses," which was reprinted together with Vale of Tears in Volume 33 of the third edition of his complete works (St. Petersburg: A. F. Marks Publishers, 1902-1903). Pending the opportunity to translate the longer Vale of Tears I give a separate translation below of the article "On Quakeresses," which appears here for the first time in English.

Friends who are acquainted with the literature on Quakerism and Russia will find that Leskov's account below of the "exiled Russian Quaker maidens" has a number of curious parallels with V. V. Guryev's article on "Russian Maidens Who Suffered as Quakers," which first appeared in Russki Vestnik (The Russian Messenger) in 1881 (CLIV, 425-458), and was published in an English translation by Edward Bernstein in London in 1919. It is obvious from the tone of Leskov's article that he knew nothing about the one by Guryev—despite the fact

that it had appeared in a periodical with which Leskov himself had at one time been closely associated!\*

The question that has remained unanswered ever since Guryev's article appeared in English is whether the twenty-two "exiled Russian maidens" had really been influenced by English Quakerism. If so, this would raise interesting questions about English Quaker influences in Russia before 1744, the year in which the women were sent to Siberia.

Guryev, himself an Orthodox priest, did not believe there had been any such influence. He pointed out that "Quakerism" was not uncommonly used in Russia at that time as a general term for any kind of mystical heresy, and he was inclined to believe the women were members of the "Khlysty," a mystical sect that appears to have arisen in the late seventeenth century, and out of which there later developed the sects of "Dukhobors," whose history is familiar to Friends, and "Skoptsy," who sought moral purity through castration. Some evidence in support of Guryev's belief would seem to lie in the trial of fifty Khlysty in Moscow in 1733 and of 416 more in 1745-1752. The twenty-two "exiled Quaker maidens" may possibly have been among the defendants in that first trial.

On the other hand, Guryev's opinion about the lack of English Quaker influences on the "exiled maidens" is shared neither by his translator, Edward Bernstein, nor by Leskov. While Bernstein confines himself to the statement that he is not con-

<sup>\*</sup> The parallel quotations in Guryev and Leskov are explained by material I discovered quite by chance in some of Leskov's letters after correcting the proofs of this article. General Astashev had known Guryev personally and had made the same documents available to him that he later gave to Leskov. These letters, written in 1893, indicate that Leskov still knew nothing of Guryev's article, even though he was familiar with other works on Siberia published by Guryev from the Astashev documents in the same magazine a few months later, in 1882. ("Pisma N.S. Leskova," Shestidesyatyie gody, Moscow-Leningrad, Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1940, pp. 355, 357-358.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a concise account of these three sects cf. Paul Miliukov, Outlines of Russian Culture, Part 1: Religion and the Church (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 89-100.

vinced by Guryev's argument,<sup>2</sup> Leskov makes it clear in the article translated below that he has no doubt about the existence of this influence. If any conclusive evidence about the problem ever existed at all, it may well have been among the numerous lost documents from the ecclesiastical and municipal archives of the Siberian town of Tomsk, where the women were exiled. When the Russian historian Miller and General-Adjutant Annenkov visited Tomsk in the 1870's to study the archives, the frightened local authorities threw most of the documents into the river Tom.<sup>3</sup>

Even though conclusive evidence is lacking, we should not underestimate the value of Leskov's own personal judgment. In addition to knowing English Quakerism through his family connections he was a lifelong student of Russian sectarianism, and in the 1860's his articles on the Old Believers were said even to rival those of P. I. Melnikov-Pecherski, whom Miliukov called the greatest expert on Russian Schismatics. In 1863, at the request of the Russian Ministry of National Education, he made a thorough study of the various groups of Old Believers in the town of Riga, an interesting account of which is given by the Soviet scholar Leonid Grossman in his fine recent study of Leskov.

If the article translated below does not solve the puzzle of the "Russian Quaker maidens," the weight of Leskov's own opinion should at least encourage students of Quaker history to look further for possible English Quaker influences in Russia before 1744. Quite apart from that, a subject of more immediate promise would be an investigation of the English Quaker and Methodist girls Leskov mentions who went to Russia in the 1830's and 1840's as governesses.

Leskov's article follows.

<sup>5</sup> Miliukov, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. V. Gur'ev, Russian Maidens Who Suffered as Quakers, translated by Edward Bernstein (London: Headley Brothers, 1919), p. 48.
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Leonid Grossman, N. S. Leskov (in Russian) (Moscow: OGIZ, 1945), p. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Grossman, op. cit., Chap. XI, "Pskov i Riga" (pp. 84-91).

#### **About "Quakeresses"**

(Postscript to Vale of Tears)

"Honny soit qui mal y pense"

Y autobiographical tales published under the title of Vale of Tears have called forth questions from several persons. A few of my readers have wondered how a Quakeress could have turned up in a Russian home in the 1830's and 1840's. These readers recall that the life of the nobles was at that time being invaded rather by the romantic influence of Roman Catholicism, under the protection of the Chief Procurator of the Synod, Prince Galitsyn, and other influential personages of that period; but in those days, they say, the "austere religious moralizing of the Quakers" was quite unknown. For that reason it seems to these readers that the episode depicting my Quakeress Hildegarde does not go back as far as that time, but reflects another and later period, which began after the appearance in Russian society of the Englishman Lord Radstock. In this connection they refer me to the works of Archpriest Mikhail Yakovlevich Moroshkin and Count Dmitri Andrevevich Tolstoy about the Jesuits and also to what was written about Radstock by Prince Meshcherski and others of similar background. Someone else, with more confidence than the others in the soundness of his information about the history of "foreign religious influences," declares that "Quakers were never even seen in Russia before the present year (1892), when they came under the name of Friends and brought financial help to Russia for the starving."

Such observations are very significant for the present writer, and I consider it necessary to give the readers of my memoirs an explanation of all these remarks coming to me from various sources.

First of all I will say that I have of course read and am familiar with what Archpriest Moroshkin and Count Dmitri Tolstoy have written about Catholicism in Russia. As for Radstock, I myself have written a book about him and there is no need for me to refer to the works of Prince Meshcherski for information about that Englishman. And so I turn to an explanation of the essence of the "doubts" that have been expressed.

It is perfectly correct, and has been adequately proved by recent historical research, that the outside influence of Roman Catholicism, though not of Protestantism, had considerable success among the Russian aristocracy during the 1830's. This by no means proves, however, that Russian life was completely untouched at that time by other religious influences coming from people known by the general name of "Pietists" (from pietas),

among whom were the Ouakers.

Since I have set forth recollections in Vale of Tears that concern only my own circle of relatives. I should consider it sufficient justification of myself personally to say that the relations of my own family to Protestantism were particularly intimate, for one of my aunts was married to an Englishman. and all of us (the children of that time) grew up with respect for the beliefs and piety of our English relatives, whom our elders often held up to us as models of the active Christian life, serving in many respects as examples for us. I think this reference alone should be enough to make clear to the reader how a little of the spirit of English religion made its way into our family, and why the lively soul of Aunt Polly, after moving lamely hither and thither—on both knees—found solace and a favorable path to the light in the companionship of such a woman as the young and very beautiful Quakeress Hildegarde Vasilyevna, described by me, whom Aunt Polly met by chance, at once understood and appreciated, and then became strongly attached to, often calling her her godmother-although without any doubt Hildegarde never repeated the baptismal ceremonies over my aunt.

Old residents of Moscow who have not entirely forgotten the English people of "Scott's House" on Leontyev Lane will of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Our only clew to the identity of this English Quakeress lies in the name Vasilyevna, which indicates that her father's given name was William (Russian: Vasili). The use of the first name and patronymic without any title is at once the friendliest and the most respectful form of address in Russian, and offers an interesting parallel to the Quaker use of the full name and family name without titles.

course know that in that old house, as long as it belonged to Mrs. Scott (the mother-in-law of my aunt), there was always a group of English girls who worked as governesses. And they were always very upright persons, sometimes highly educated and always strictly religious.

From there they would go out to take "places" all over Russia, preferably in the provinces where the four sons of "Old Man Scott" (James, Jr.) managed the great landed estates of the Naryshkins and the Perovskis.

The neighbors would ask them to recommend "dependable English girls" and would receive just the kind they requested. Very many of these governesses grew attached to their pupils and remained their lifelong friends. Among them were both Methodists and Quakers. No distinction was made either by those who recommended them or by those who hired them.<sup>a</sup>

a. (Leskov's note.) I recall one unimportant but typical case that adds to the picture of the relations between my family and the Quaker women. One of my cousins became a widower while still very young and was left with three children, whom he did not know how to take care of. He grieved very much over the loss of his beautiful wife. Our aunt who was married to the Englishman felt very sorry for her nephew but shared his fear that a second marriage would be very risky, for the children of his first marriage might have a hard time with their stepmother. Together they went over a great many girls they knew and still concluded that it would be "hazardous" and "frightful"; they might make tolerably good wives, but as for making good stepmothers, not a single one held any promise. Then our aunt told her nephew: "Why don't you do this? If you are really an honest man and want to marry for the sake of your family's happiness and not merely for your own comfort, then go to England, get yourself a position in a Quaker family, and marry a Quaker girl. They know how to bring peace into a home." Our relative did just that: he went to Scotland for a whole year and came back with a young wife who on the very first day of her arrival in her husband's house personally washed his children's ears with babysoap [Leskov uses the English word, bedecked with the appropriate Russian case-ending!] and treated them in such a way that nobody's stupid advice prevented her from winning them over with respect and love. And when this turned out so well, another brother of this relative, a bachelor, also decided to marry an English girl, and indeed to marry whichever one his sister-in-law should suggest. She thought it over and carried out his wish: she gave him a letter to her own family, where he found that the younger sister of his brother's wife had been chosen

Consequently, it was a very simple matter for a Quaker girl to come to a family of gentry in Orël Province, and she had no need to resort to any kind of cunning. I think this might be enough to close the matter, for it is clear that there was a way for a Quakeress to come into our own family circle. But this would explain only one individual case, concerning our family, and even here the reader would have to take my word for it on faith—which I do not desire. I wish and feel bound to prove to the reader, however, that Quakers first appeared in Russia not in 1892 "bringing relief," but that they were here much earlier, not merely "before Radstock" but even before our birth—and that their presence among us (men and women, but especially women) was strongly felt even at that time and actually led to governmental measures. Let me now direct your attention to this matter.

I do not know for what reason "followers of the Quaker heresy, Quakers and Quakeresses," should have been exiled from Russia to Siberia, but among some papers on "Old Days in Siberia" given to me by the late Major General Benjamin Ivanovich Astashev, a well-known Russian gold producer and a native of Siberia, there is a detailed note about "Quakeresses" (that is, women); and in this interesting note, documented with names and dates, we read the following:

"In the traditions of the old residents of Tomsk the name Quakeress is given to followers of the Quaker heresy, who were exiled to the Tomsk Convent for penance and heavy convent

for him, and he did not shrink from this fate: he married her and remained for good in England, in the family of his very old father-in-law, and gave his property in Russia to his brother and settled his accounts with him. He did not return to Russia, so they said, because here the marriage of two brothers with two sisters might be pronounced illegal, and also because he had come to love his wife's family very much and did not wish to distress her with a separation from her father. And so this openhearted relative of ours with his very gentle, poetic nature took leave of his native land forever and we lost track of him, but we heard that he enjoyed an excellent reputation in his community and saw "God's blessing" upon himself and his family—which in their way of expressing themselves takes the place of the meaning conveyed by the phrase "he was happy."

work. These prisoners, twenty-two in number, had great influence on the religious ideas of the Tomsk inhabitants at that time." Condemned for impious heresy, these women came to the Tomsk Convent in 1744 and remained in it even when the convent itself was abolished and its chapel was turned into a parish church. Many different stories about them have been preserved in the memory of the old inhabitants of Tomsk. These stories are voluminous, and there is no need to set them forth here in detail, but from them all there comes the conclusion that "Quakeresses" were known in Siberia and at first were judged variously—some judging them well and others badly; some looked on the "Quakeresses" as kindly, devout women and treated them with great respect, while others considered them harmful "heretics" and held them in scorn. These latter showed hostility to the Quakeresses and tried to call forth general mistrust and severity against them. The author of the Astashev note (an ecclesiastic from one of the Siberian bishoprics) conjectures on the basis of information known to him that not all the twenty-two Tomsk prisoners held the Quaker heresy and that there were other sectarians among them, but in the opinion of the Tomsk inhabitants they were incorrectly regarded all alike as "Quakeresses." Among them, according to the very well-informed author, an especially prominent one was a certain "Big Nadëzha Grigoryevna." According to the description this was a very stout woman, "of enormous size," who was famous for her "pious life," and the lovers of piety in Tomsk used to go to her for prayer and "for advice in family affairs and especially in times of sorrow." In the neighborhood of "Big Nadëzha Grigoryevna" lived her brother "and other Quakeresses," who had spent more than fifty years in Tomsk and had left pupils behind them who were "similar in spirit to Nadëzha Grigoryevna herself."b But how and in what the spirit of "Big Nadëzha Grigoryevna" was expressed the author of the note does not make clear. In the note, however, mention is made of

b. (*Leskov's note.*) About the brother of Nadëzha Grigoryevna there is no explanation whether he was also a Quaker and whether other persons of the masculine sex were exiled with him, or whether he alone came here with his sister and the other Quakeresses.

another Ouakeress, Mariva Matasova by name, with information about what she was accused of. From the record about Matasova it is evident that in 1826 the priest of the Blagoveshchenski Cathedral in Tomsk, Nikifor Bolshanin, made a "denunciation" before the Tomsk Ecclesiastical Administration in which he also presented a general characterization of the activity of the "Ouakeresses." (Decree of the Tobolsk Consistory, 1826, No. 3067.) From the denunciation it is evident that the abovenamed Siberian ecclesiastic presumably had some kind of hostile feeling toward the priest of the convent where the Quakeresses were imprisoned, and composed the denunciation in such a way that a considerable part of the accusation fell on the convent priesthood. The Cathedral Priest Bolshanin wrote that "the cunning Quakeresses taught their admirers to observe strictly all outward rites of the Orthodox Church, to appear outwardly Orthodox, and to placate the parish priests as far as possible, so that they should have no suspicion of them. They themselves in particular carried out these precepts, and for a period of forty years they had appeared to be strictly Orthodox in the eyes of the convent priesthood; so that these priests, who were obliged to report each year on their conduct, regularly replied that the unfrocked maidens exiled for Quaker heresy were living an upright life and held to the Christian faith in everything, as Christian duty enjoins: they always went diligently to Holy Church to hear the doxology, they always attended confession and holy communion, some of them twice, and others invariably through all the fasts, and their former wickedness was now to be seen no longer." (Reports of Priest Shikhov, 1760: and Dulepov, 1775.")

From the above it is clearly evident that the priests who were supposed to be able to distinguish the spirit of heresies understood the exiled women to be followers of the "Quaker heresy" and were seeking to correct their "former wickedness," undoubtedly consisting in the Quaker ideas about ritual, the authorities, and so on, which distinguish the religious beliefs of these people, who place personal spiritual regeneration above everything else.

In this way the note that was preserved among the papers of the well-known Siberian General Astashev certifies beyond all doubt that we really have had "Quakeresses" among us, and further, this same note presents interesting information about how these Quakeresses lived out their days in Tomsk.

The prior of the Tomsk monastery, Archimandrite Lavrenti, in a memorandum he gave to the historian Miller when he visited Siberia, explained that in the convent where the twenty-two exiled Quaker maidens lived "the situation is calamitous: there is one church, of wood and very dilapidated, and the wall is the same; there are six cells, all dilapidated; there are no contributors, ministers, or peasants, nor are there any lands or implements." And after Archimandrite Lavrenti even the clergy of the convent where the Quakeresses languished complained to the Metropolitan Sylvester because their church "was in ruins," "in the convent there are no nuns, and the exiled unfrocked Quaker maidens are living on secular charity." c

The author of the note that reached us through General Astashev had tried to find out who these Tomsk Quakeresses were and had become convinced that "they were schismatics who had joined a few genuine Quakers."

c. (Leskov's note.) Even though there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the explanation given by the clergy to the Metropolitan that "the Quakeresses are living on secular charity," still there is evidence according to which one may suppose that even in their old age the "Quakeresses" sought a means of living by the work of their own hands and did what they were able and knew how to do. Among these same papers given to me by General Astashev there are odd pages from account books, which show that the old ladies lived as it were in a commune; they jointly bought writing paper, candles, ink, and paint, and "wrote to order," that is to say, they occupied themselves with the copying of books, for which they received pay and entered it as an item in their common income. Shown likewise as common expenses were the sums paid for meal, salt, butter, cloth, and other everyday things. I also have three pages of their written work, similar in all respects to the work of nuns of the Old Believers' hermitages. The writing is a fine and very beautiful semi-uncial; and there are very beautiful illuminations with colorful ornamentation painstakingly worked in azure, vermilion, and gold, and with flowers, birds, and grasses in the margins. On one sheet is a letter of congratulations to a benefactress; on another, a fragment of some kind of "consolation"; and the third-

Consequently, Quakers and "Quakeresses" were known to our fathers.

According to the note that came from General Astashev, the interesting destiny of the Quakeresses who were exiled to Siberia had by 1784 ended with the death of twenty of them; but two of them-Mariya Dmitrievna and Anna Vasilvevnalived very long, and when the convent was torn down they became the object of not a little concern for the authorities. There arose the question where they could be put. "After the closing of the Tomsk Convent," which had become quite impoverished and so dilapidated that it was impossible to live in it, "it became necessary to move the Quakeresses Mariya Dmitrova and Anna Vasilyeva<sup>8</sup> to the Eniseisk Convent." Why this was again so necessary is not clear from the note, but it is clear that they now took it into their heads to see how these two remaining Quakeresses were getting along at that time, and they saw that the years had not spared them and that they were so weak and decrepit that "it was impossible to move them," and it was therefore decided to include them in a manifesto "of freedom from incarceration." New correspondence began about this and "continued for a year," and in April, 1784, there came this edict: "Since the Quaker prisoners Mariya Dmitrova and Anna Vasilyeva have been in Siberia for thirty-nine years and are very

in the most elegant writing and with delicate and beautiful drawings in gold leaf—is a "rhyme" or a "song," very pleasant and touching because of the situation of those who worked on its reproduction. This was a "song to the soul," which began with these words:

"My soul, thou art a pilgrim,
Not of this world below.
Where dost thou find a resting place,
And what can charm thee so?
Thou art a bird of passage,
Flitting about in delight;
Thou hast arrived in the savage jungle
Of ignorance dark as night."

<sup>8</sup> Dmitrova and Vasilyeva are the same names as Dmitrievna and Vasilyevna, though in less respectful forms, often used formerly for persons of non-noble birth.

aged and since they have shown no opposition to the Holy Church for so many years, therefore because of their old age, without transporting them from that place, because of its remoteness, to incarceration in the Eniseisk State Convent, they shall until their death be left at that same church in Tomsk (where the convent was) at which they are now living on secular charity, under the surveillance of the spiritual authorities, both the parish priest and the governor of the town, and henceforward they shall be reckoned no more as prisoners."

About the death of these last two "Quakeresses" nothing is said in the note that came to me from General Astashev, but we may suppose that up to the end of their life on earth they still showed no "contrariness" or "wickedness," and that they in no way spoiled the good reputation which led to the decision not to send them to Eniseisk but to let them die where they had lived for forty years without causing any kind of harm to anybody.

Such was the spirit also of the "warmhearted friend" of Aunt Polly—the English girl Hildegarde.

May the Russian soil rest upon their bones as light as down, and—"honny soit qui mal v pense."

Summer, 1892. Merekyul.

### EARLIEST RECORDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

THE yearly meeting of Philadelphia and Burlington, as is well known, met alternately at those cities for many years beginning in 1686. Before that there were apparently two yearly meetings. One was at Burlington beginning in 1681 and the other at Philadelphia beginning apparently in 1683, but overlapping the older one in membership. Before the coming of Penn, Friends had meetings west of the Delaware and these were represented at Burlington yearly meetings.

The evidence of parallel yearly meetings in this period is not absolute but is probably sufficient. It is most definite for 1684, since a letter to London Friends is extant from the Philadelphia meeting, dated Seventh Month 24, 1684, in which the writers say: "We have had lately two precious, heavenly, and blessed yearly meetings one at Burlington the other at Philadelphia . . . . And dear Friends, at the two aforementioned

yearly meetings . . . . "

A yearly meeting, presumably in Philadelphia, in Third Month, 1683, was projected, according to a letter dated 17th of First Month, 1683 from Pennsylvania Friends to Friends in England, but a minute at the beginning of the minute book of Bucks Quarterly Meeting refers to the yearly meeting held at Philadelphia in the Seventh Month, 1683. The minutes of the

Burlington sessions in the same month are extant.

As for 1685 the minutes of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting for Seventh Month 12, 1685 speak of the Quarterly Meeting as "being deferred to then because of Burlington and our Yearly Meeting," while the Yearly Meeting minutes of the same month record, as though it were a new plan: "It was therefore concluded and agreed by this meeting that there be but one yearly and general meeting in this province and West Jersey, one year at Burlington and another at Philadelphia."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same date is given as of a letter from this Yearly Meeting to Friends of Maryland in their reply copied into the Yearly Meeting minutes of 1685.

The minutes of the first annual meeting at Burlington provided for a meeting to be held in Second Month every year at Salem. This apparently was intended to be as inclusive as the other. As we shall see, it was called a Yearly (or Half Yearly) Meeting.

The early Yearly Meeting minute books preserved at the Department of Records, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia are two. One is a small parchment-bound folio extending from 1681 only to 1710, the second part of the book being left blank. It is in the careful hand of Phineas Pemberton but it is evident from the writing that the minutes were not entered into it year by year but after several years had elapsed, and that the minutes had to be supplied from elsewhere. There are no minutes for 1684, though as stated above, we know yearly meetings were held that year.2 The second book is a larger leather-bound folio. Its beginning is a copy of the other book and was made by James Pemberton, grandson of Phineas and clerk a hundred years after him. He copied also a letter that Phineas evidently intended for the first book, in which he says that the minutes had been derived from loose copies. This explains why the minutes are so incomplete.

The following chart lists the meetings probably held in the years 1681-5, bracketing those unminuted in the Yearly Meeting books extant.

Burlington (autumn)

1681	1682	1683	「16847	[1685]
Half Yearly (See	cond Month)			[]
	[1682]	[1683]	[1684]	[1685]
Philadelphia		[1683]	[1684]	1685

Beside regretting the omissions in the oldest records, one cannot but wonder whether the copies made so long after are as accurate as if they had been written down without the perspective of later years. I have come upon copies of some of these minutes evidently earlier than the official Yearly Meeting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This book has headings but no minutes for yearly meetings in Burlington in Seventh Month, 1684, in Philadelphia in Seventh Month, 1684, and in Burlington in Seventh Month, 1685. *Cf.* the description of these minute books in this BULLETIN, 20 (1931), 60-61.

minute books which prove that changes have been made. They also include minutes of two of the half yearly sessions. It has seemed worth while, without keeping their spelling, to give their full wording.<sup>3</sup>

August 1681, Burlington

Besides the minute books of Yearly Meeting at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, which I shall call P, there are minute books of subordinate meetings which are older than these, as indeed some of the meetings are older. I have in mind the minute book of Salem Monthly Meeting (1676-1696), abbreviated as S. and that for Burlington Monthly Meeting (1678-1737), abbreviated as B. The latter, like P, was not compiled until a few years had passed, but S by its variation of ink shows that it was kept up currently. Both B and S contain copies of the first minutes appearing in P, but they are earlier drafts and agree almost verbatim with each other, when they diverge from the wording of P. These minutes occur in B in chronological position (p. 15) among the monthly minutes, but in S among miscellaneous items copied into the back of the book reversed. I give below the text of S which seems to be nearly contemporary, and I indicate in brackets some variations of P. All versions preface the minutes with a Burlington Monthly Meeting minute, dated Third Month 2, 1681, calling a general meeting at Burlington on the 28th day of the Sixth Month (August) next. This date was evidently deferred a few days as the opening sentence shows, or perhaps the meeting convened on the 28th and only issued its decisions four days later. I believe London Yearly Meeting at this period began on Sunday but had what we would regard its chief business session on the Wednesday following.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Apparently none of these minutes have been printed heretofore in this form. Ezra Michener says he had no access to Yearly Meeting minutes of 1681 except in the Burlington Monthly Meeting book. Hence his excerpts are in that relatively early form (Retrospect of Early Quakerism [Philadelphia, 1860], pp. 22, 149, 155, 194, 216-17). Cf. his extracts from the meeting at Salem in April, 1682 on pp. 35, 43, 51. The minutes for Burlington in 1683 and 1685, partly printed in Michener, pp. 22-3, are no less interesting but are omitted here because I have no new data to add to the forms in the Yearly Meeting Book.

1st At a general meeting [P a general or yearly meeting] held in Burlington [B and P insert—at (in) the house of Thomas Gardiner] last [P—31st] day of the sixth month in the year 1681 it was then mutually agreed that a woman's meeting [P—women's meetings] should be established [P adds—and appointed to be held monthly at the same time the men's monthly meetings are to be held].

2ly And it is also agreed that the next general meeting be holden [B and P—held] in Burlington the first first day in the 7th month

next ensuing [P-in the year next ensuing].

3ly The meeting thought it meet to take an account of all the particular meetings in this province.

4ly Salem Monthly Meeting is upon the last second day of every month to begin at the 10th hour.

5ly Marcus Hook and Upland Monthly Meeting is upon the second 3rd day [B and P—first fifth day] of the month at the tenth hour.

6ly Burlington Monthly Meeting is upon the first second day of the month at the tenth hour.

7ly The weekly meetings at the Falls first days [B and P add—to be held in the house of Thomas Lambert], at Salem the first and 4th days, Upland and Marcus Hook first and 5th days, Burlington first and fifth days, Rancocus first and 4th days.

Bly Touching the alteration of Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting it is left to John Bowne and Henry Willis to acquaint Friends in Long Island, Rhode Island in order to have their consent that henceforth they may belong to Burlington Monthly meeting [B—Burlington Meeting, P—the Yearly Meeting at Burlington].

Oly Ordered by the meeting aforesaid that Salem Friends do advise to get them in order to the having [P adds—and holding of] a

woman's meeting.

10ly It was ordered that each Monthly Meeting do appoint two persons to follow reports in order to find out the reporter and to minister justice upon it, such reports as may tend to the slander or defamation of any Friend and also such reports as shall be spoken out [i.e. outside] of the monthly meetings of the men and women.

11ly It was also ordered that if any Friend be removed to travel upon the service of Truth to any remote parts, that these first lay it before the respective monthly meeting unto [sic] in order to have the Unity

of Friends [P—the consent or approbation thereof].

12ly It was ordered that if any difference do arise betwixt any two persons that profess the Truth, that these do not go to law before they first lay it before the Monthly Meeting they do belong to [P—before endeavors have been made and used for the ending thereof by the particular monthly meeting they belong to].

13ly It is generally agreed that there be an half yearly meeting [B—a yearly meeting] held at Salem [P adds—yearly] upon the

second first day of the second month.

lastly It is ordered that copies [P adds—of the several agreements] be given to monthly meetings of the men and women [P—be sent to the particular men and women's meetings aforementioned].

Besides those changes indicated many others were made in P. The enumeration was omitted. "Ordered" was everywhere changed to "agreed." Before the numbered day of the week the word "weekly" was added. Between 71y and 81y P adds: "And it is mutually agreed that all the before mentioned meetings shall begin by 10 of the clock in the aforenoon both the monthly and first day meetings." The style of P is more formal and elaborate, and evidently P gives the later nomenclature (Yearly Meeting for General Meeting) and practice. We are fortunate in being able in this instance to get behind this editing to something closer to the copies ordered sent to the Monthly Meetings.

That these copies are not quite the same as the kind of full minutes that the official meeting book of today would show is indicated by two facts: (1) They are not signed (nor are any of the early minutes signed) with the name of a clerk; (2) we have evidence that at this session still other matters were transacted. So at least I construe the statement in the first minutes of Burlington Quarterly Meeting for Ninth Month 29, 1681 that "the Yearly Meeting saw it necessary... that this Quarterly Meeting for Burlington and the Falls should be held at the house of William Beedle in Mansfield (being pretty near the middle of Friends belonging to it) at the times hereafter mentioned, etc."

#### April 1682, Salem

The minutes below occur but not in their proper chronological order (p. 28) in B, the minute book of Burlington Monthly Meeting. The meeting was held at the time and place called for at the close of the preceding minutes. It too is here called a General Meeting. This may not be an exact copy of the minutes, but I know of no other.

At a General Meeting held at Salem in the Province of West New Jersey the 11th of the 2nd month, 1682.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Quoted in *Friends in Burlington*, by Amelia Mott Gummere, p. 18 (reprint from *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 7 [1883], 264).

It was mutually agreed and ordained that in every monthly meeting there shall be four faithful and good Friends ordained, chosen and appointed to take care of such orphans as shall be left to the care of Friends of each respective monthly meeting.

It was also ordered that a Quarterly Meeting be held at Burlington

the second second day of the fourth month next ensuing.

It was also ordered that a Quarterly Meeting be held at Salem the

third second day of the ninth month next ensuing.

It was ordered that Friends at Arwamus and those at Schackamaxon do meet together on cell a month the second first day of each month and the first meeting to begin at William Cooper's at Pine Point at Arwamus the second first day of the third month next and the next second first day of the month at Thomas Fairman's in Shackamaxon and so in course.

It was ordered that a six weeks men's and women's meetings for the ordering of the affairs of the church be kept the twenty-fourth day of the third month at William Cooper's and the next six weeks' meeting at Thomas Fairman's in Schackamaxon and so in course.

#### September 1682, Burlington

Beside the minutes as entered in the Yearly Meeting books (P) for this year there is a copy in the minute book of Burlington (B) Monthly Meeting (pp. 26, 27) which seems to me more original in wording and earlier in actual writing. It is copied below with a few references to some of the variants in P.

Whereas the Quarterly Meeting at Salem appointed [P—heretofore been held] upon the [P—second] second day of the ninth month it was though[t] meet [P—it was agreed] to alter it to the third second day of the abovesaid month.

At a General Meeting [P—Yearly Meeting] held in Burlington in [P—at] the house of Thomas Gardiner the 6th of the 7th month 1682.

It is generally agreed by Friends of Rhode Island and Long Island that Friends of Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting [P—omits Monthly] shall henceforth belong to our General and Quarterly Meeting in Burlington [P—our Quarterly and Yearly Meetings].

It is also generally agreed that Friends of every Monthly Meeting do appoint two or more persons that have understanding in Truth's affairs and such Friends so appointed to attend the service of the General Meeting from time to time till it be ended. [P—omits this paragraph].

It is ordered [P—agreed] that there be books provided for the service of Truth in order to record all families of Friends distinct and the year when they arrived here and where they sit down to plant [P—the places of their settlement, etc.].

It is ordered [P—agreed] that copies of this order [P, which puts the following minute earlier—the aforesaid agreement] relating to certificates from the Monthly Meeting be sent to all Friends meetings

belonging to us [P-to this Yearly Meeting].

It is desired [P—agreed] by Friends that all young persons that are single and profess Truth both male and female do take care to procure certificates from the Monthly Meetings that they did belong unto of their conversation and clearness from any person as relating to marriage and the mind of their parents therein and that in their sending they take advice of the Monthly Meeting they do belong unto [P—

expands and makes more explicit].

Friends to you who may be concerned this is written for the Truth's sake by way of advice from the General Meeting that male and female both old and young who make mention of the name of the Lord may all take heed that they be not found in nor wearing of superfluity of apparel nor immoderate and unseemly taking of tobacco, also selling of needless things whereby any may take occasion of offense justly but that we may be found and kept within the bounds of moderation and within the limits of the spirit of Truth and may be known to be governed by the Truth in all concerns which is the desire of

#### Your Friends and Brethren

#### April 1685

The following minutes are found written in the back reversed of Salem Monthly Meeting Book for 1676-1696 (S). Unfortunately the corner of the page is torn so that most of the word indicating the place is missing. The beginning of the word does not look like Salem. Nor does it look like Burlington.

At the General Meeting held in [ ] on the 14th day of the Second Month 1685.

It was ordered that Robert Stacey, George Hutcheson, Perciful Tole [Percival Towle] and John Burton and Richard Guy make enquiry into those aspersions put upon Friends by gaven loury [Gawen Laurie] concerning the act made in East Jersey for bearing of arms with all the expedition they can in order to the clearing or condemning of Friends of East and West Jersey.

It was also thought meet that for the time to come all Friends that shall proceed in marriage after the first appearing at the Monthly Meeting and all things being clear, then that a paper according to the

law of the province be published.

The references to civil laws in these two paragraphs can each of them be identified. On November 15, 1684 an act was passed confirming the laws of the Province of East Jersey made since March 1, 1682 but excepting "a clause in the act passed for the militia, wherein power is given to the military officers to take distress upon defaulters, which clause so far as it extends to the people called Quakers, who for conscience sake cannot bear arms or contribute to the same, we do not confirm but that the same is void to all intents and purposes so far as it concerns them."

Apparently in the discussion of this exemption Governor Laurie, himself a Friend, had made some derogatory allusions to the Friends. It would be interesting to know what they were. Burlington Friends—and such are all the individuals named in the minute—elsewhere show an ardor about the maintenance of the Ouaker peace testimony.

The Act for preventing clandestine and unlawful marriages in West Jersey is older, dated May 2-6, 1682, and required both parties so to be married [i.e. by a Justice] first to publish their intent of marriage, fourteen days before, in some public place to be appointed for that purpose.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. Leaming and J. Spicer, The Grants, Concessions and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey, 1752, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, 34 (1945), 20 (a minute of Burlington Monthly Meeting for December 4, 1682).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Learning and Spicer, op. cit., p. 446 f. East Jersey had a similar law since 1668, ibid., p. 81.

#### Notes and Documents

#### Baltimore to Waynesville in 1805: Extracts from the Memoirs of Rebecca Wright Hill

Edited by Dorothy G. Harris\*

The publication of the volumes of Hinshaw's Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy dealing with Ohio called to our attention the tide of Quaker migration that flowed steadily from the eastern and southern states into Ohio and Indiana in the early eighteen hundreds. The fine introductory account in the Hinshaw volumes is authority for the statement that between 1804 and 1807 no less than 1,697 persons were received on certificate by Miami Monthly Meeting, the focal point in southwestern Ohio for the Quaker pioneers.1

Among these Friends was a Baltimore miller and his family, accounting for twenty-one of the persons received by Miami in 1805-6.2 Their experiences in crossing the mountains and the Ohio River are probably typical of those of Friends who made the journey in these years. It took two months of rugged wagon travel. The following account of the trip as seen through the eyes of the twelve-year-old daughter in the family, and recalled in her later years, was found in the possession of an Indiana Friend now living in Richmond.

\* Dorothy G. Harris is Acting Librarian of the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Richmond, Indiana, 1946), IV, [7]. A meeting for worship was established at Miami (now in the town of Waynesville) about 1801. The monthly meeting was set up in 1803 under Baltimore Yearly Meeting (see Hinshaw, V, [17]). Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803, having formerly been a part of the Northwest Territory.

<sup>2</sup> The Wright family party that left Maryland in October of 1805, included the parents, Jonathan and Susanna Griffith Wright, and the following children, sons-in-law, and grandchildren:

Thomas

Rachel and her husband, Benjamin Farquhar

Children: Uriah, Cyrus, Allen, Jonathan, Josiah, and Susannah.

Phoebe and her husband, Oliver Matthews

Children: Joel, William, and Ann.

Elizabeth Mary Jonathan

Joel Susanna

Minors Rebecca

When I was twelve years old, my parents with their whole family (except their eldest son) emigrated from Maryland, Baltimore Co., to what was then called the Miami or Western Country. Having previously laid the prospect before the Mo. Mtg.,3 which was received with sympathy and approval by Friends, they were granted certificates directed to the Mo. Mtg. next adjacent to the place we might settle. For my father was uncertain where he might fix his habitation should he be favoured to reach the end of our long and perilous journey. We left our former home on the 10th of 10th mo. 1805, and proceeded to a wood, through which we had been accustomed to walk to meetings. There we found baskets of provisions, brought by our neighbors and friends, it being about noon, who spread cloths on the grass and leaves, and laid on refreshments. We sat down and partook together of a parting meal. It was to us a solemn passover...and that spot was long rendered memorable . . . . We bade a long farewell to our dear friends and proceeded forty miles to Pipe Creek to the residence of our brother-in-law, Benjamin Farguhar. We were here joined by his family making in all twenty-one in number.

We now commenced our journey anew, our eldest brother accompanying us some miles on our way. But the time arrived when we must separate, a father from his son, a mother from her first-born. Brother and sisters bid a final adieu, for such it proved. We saw him turn his back and ride slowly from us. Our eyes followed him until he was lost in the distance . . . . We felt it was the demand of imperious necessity and were in good degree made willing to resign him to the protecting care of his heavenly Father. We continued our journey toward the setting sun which seemed to beckon us forward. I sometimes imagined its last beam rested on our far-off habitation.

Crossing the mountains the road was rough and precipitant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gunpowder Monthly Meeting, established in 1739, is in Baltimore Quarter of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. The old meetinghouse, built in 1773, still stands; it is a fine old grey-stone building near Cockeysville.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Thomas Wright had been appointed agent to the Chickasaw Nation of Indians in Mississippi and served there until his death in 1808.

The scenery over Allegheny and Laurel Hill<sup>5</sup> awfully sublime, especially by moonlight. We sometimes had to drive late to reach our destination. Then the wagons would seem to pitch from rock to rock and the descent was so steep that, should we pitch over it would be hard telling where we should land. I remember Sister E[lizabeth] repeated these lines of Thomson:

Should fate command me to the farthest verge [Of the green earth, to distant barbarous climes, Rivers unknown to song, where first the sun Gilds Indian mountains, or his setting beam Flames on the Atlantic isles—'tis naught to me; Since God is ever present, ever felt In the void waste as in the city full; And where He vital breathes there must be joy.]6

At length we arrived at the Ohio, a little below Wheeling. Here we took boarding at a public house for one week waiting the rise of the river, for our father wished to go to Cincinnati by water. But as it did not rise, and no boats were passing, we were obliged to relinquish that prospect, and continue our journey by land. Brother and sister Farquhar were both in poor health . . . . He had a brother-in-law, Josiah Updegraff, living in Wheeling, who offered him and family the occupancy of his new dwelling house if they would remain there till spring, when they might descend the river in a flat boat (steam boats were not then in use) and land at Cincinnati. It was decided for them to remain at Wheeling and that we should proceed by land. This increased our anxiety for it weakened our band.

But our father was unwavering both in faith and purpose, for he felt that He whom he served was lord of the universe and as near in the desert and solitary place as in the crowded city, and we all partook of a measure of the same feeling. Our dear mother's trust was strong and abiding and she manifested little emotion or solicitude toward our getting along, but fol-

<sup>6</sup> James Thomson. The Seasons . . . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891,

pp. 185-186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The ridges called "Allegheny Mountain" and "Laurel Hill" are still so named over the tunnels that pass through them on the modern Pennsylvania Turnpike.

lowed slowly on her little pony which was purchased expressly for her use, as the motion of the wagon had always been disagreeable to her . . . . As for myself, I was sick through nearly all the journey but my mind was more easily diverted by surrounding objects. Ideas of the unexplored region were fraught with novelty and hope . . . . I was determined to be contented in our new habitation wherever or whatever it might be, for it seemed to me impossible that we should retrace our steps.

We had mostly been able to find a stopping place at night where we could have at least a roof over our heads. Once we came to a small opening and wishing to stop for the night, our brother went into the dwelling to engage lodging. He reported that they had just killed a beef and it was lying whole on some straw on the floor. This was rather a damper but as there was a room adjoining, in this we reluctantly spread our beds and stayed rather than slept till morning. . . . But the last place we stopped at, on our journey, we met different fare. They were a family mostly grown, who were accustomed to and fond of society. We were welcomed as old friends. The mother was in delicate health and in this wilderness was no physician to relieve her sufferings. Her husband and two fine looking sons had just arrived from a hunting excursion with plenty of game. They all insisted that we should partake with them, and immediately set about preparing the evening repast, which consisted of two roast turkeys, venison, etc., of which we partook, both families sitting down together. One of the sons entertained us with music from the violin. This was particularly relished by me as I was fond of music but this propensity had never been indulged. I was gratified that father sat and heard it without any visible signs of reluctance. Here we heard that there was not a house on our road for the next forty miles, and we purchased provisions of them for the remainder of our journey. The next night we spread a tent in the woods. This was the first time I had slept entirely out-of-doors, and my parents thought best for me to stay in the wagon. To this I would not consent for the ground we had passed this day had all been low and level and I felt a little like smothering. So I was permitted to lie under the tent, but sleep I could not. It was cloudy and drizzling rain, and the great owls had congregated on the trees above us. They seemed to be consulting among themselves what had best be done with us, who had intruded on the ground over which they had so long held undisputed dominion. Their dialect was so perfect, that my father had enough to do to persuade me they were not Indians.

On the 10th day of 12th mo. we arrived at a small enclosure in Green Co., Ohio. The owner of the premises advanced to meet us. He proved to be a distant relative whom we had not seen before. He began to lay down the fence immediately, inviting us kindly to drive in. We did so but the ludicrous appearance we made and the thought . . . that we had been two months traveling to find a resting place — and here we were before the entrance of a little cabin which was already apparently full of human beings of different sizes, all in one apartment — seemed to strike us simultaneously. . . . Our parents entered, but the rest could not leave the wagons until they had given vent to their feelings. . . . We must either laugh or cry. We preferred the former and in that way relieved our embarrassment; then we too entered and found a friendly welcome.

Near this place our father found an empty cabin and rented it for the winter or until he could look about him and select a spot for a home, the prospect of which was grateful to us. . . . In this cabin we bestowed our goods, and commenced house-keeping, in an entirely new style. . . . We had one apartment to sit, cook and sleep in. Our cellar was a square hole or pit under the floor near the fire-place, which we entered by removing a board or rather a punchion. It was then replaced and all was smooth again. Here we deposited some bushels of very sweet turnips. These, served instead of fruit, we learned to scrape very dexterously.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rebecca Hill quotes corroborative evidence from Pioneer Life in Kentucky, a series of Reminiscential Letters from Daniel Drake . . . (Cincinnati, 1870), p. 46: "In December, when at night the family were seated . . . around a warm fire, made blazing bright with pieces of hickory bark, a substitute for candles, and every member was engaged with a dull case knife in scraping and eating a sweet and juicy turnip, the far-famed pears and apples of their native [state] were forgotten."

Our brothers now indulged in a few weeks of hunting. They returned with a supply of venison, turkey and bear meat sufficient for our winter provision. The next trip was to hunt that valuable domestic animal, a cow. They found a good one, but had to drive her fifteen or sixteen miles through the woods. without any roads, except such as had been marked out by cutting some bark off the trees along the route. This cow was such a pet, and fared so sumptuously, that milk had to be taken three times a day. . . . She would stand with her head at the door and I have seen our mother sit at her work, with a staff by her side, to prevent her entering the domicile. For our door-yard was ample, having no separate enclosure from the corn (or stalk) field near the middle of which our cabin was situated. After father and brothers had traversed the country for about forty miles in almost every direction, it was decided we should settle between the two Miamis on Todds Fork, a branch of the latter river, where there were advantages of water power. On this farm of three hundred acres of rich land, five were cleared of timber, except sugar trees. On this lot which was well set in grass, was a small cabin with but one apartment. In this after turning the punchion floor, and effecting a pretty thorough cleansing, we were soon comfortably ensconced, with a row of trunks reaching to what should have been the ceiling, supported one above the other by large pegs driven into the logs, and other furniture . . . . and we all felt glad and thankful that we were once more "at home."

In continuing this little history, which I wish to be very plain and simple, I am not without fear that it may savour too much of romance, if I shall attempt to describe the sublime majesty and grandeur of those unfrequented solitudes to which I was thus early introduced . . . and yet, be assured that no language which I can use, can convey to others an adequate conception of those co-mingled feelings which often rose and struggled for utterance. For the solitudes were vast and undefined . . . the lofty forest overshadowed one vast garden, where were flowers of every hue and fruits which grew spontaneously — but that which was pleasant to the eye was often bitter to taste. . . .

I was nurtured . . . in the bosom of my own family, having never been sent to school, but to my sister, Elizabeth8 who was very competent to instruct in the elements of education, and this was all I had an opportunity to acquire. However I gleaned a little as I advanced in age, from the older members of the family. Yet my education was very deficient both from want of time, which was much employed in domestic avocation, and from scarcity of books from which to obtain that knowledge I so ardently desired . . . my nerves in those days were often excited by fear, from many and various causes. First, the Indians reserved the privilege of hunting the deer in their native woods. In these excursions they sometimes called on us. Once when the family were all from home except myself, three of them entered our dwelling with their knives bloody from the chase and made signs for something to smoke. Misinterpreting, I thought they demanded food and was about to supply them, when one — I believe from sympathy — endeavored to explain by exclaiming with accompanying gestures: "pipe, pipe." Second, there was very little land cleared of timber. Hence our domestic animals were suffered to roam at large, that they might gather their own subsistence. As the pastures of the wilderness were abundant, they sometimes wandered beyond their accustomed haunts and remained out for days . . . it was often difficult to detect the route by which they had attempted to accomplish their hazardous enterprise. In searching for them and in endeavoring to retrace steps, the continuous view of the same appearances would so bewilder and confuse the mind of the searcher, that course and distance were forgotten and the wanderer after many a weary step would find himself at the starting point. In the meantime those at home, especially the female part of the family felt great uneasiness, for imagination, prone to exaggerate, would paint the beloved brother traversing the trackless forest, uncertain which way to steer, and going still further from those who were anxiously watching for his return. On occasions like those, I would take my position on a massive gate-post from the top of which the sound of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Wright had been a student at Westtown School in 1803-04, and was later a teacher in Ohio.

winding horn might be furthest heard, and when heard, was sure to elicit a glad response from the lost one. We would thus hail each other alternately till sight relieved us of our fears, and gathering round him, we would listen to the thrilling recital of his adventures. Persons who have never lived in wilderness country can have but little conception of our feelings on these occasions. Third, there were lots or fields where timber had been deadened before clearing . . . the limbs of those trees becoming dry and brittle, would crack and fall in every direction when a storm of wind was approaching. They were frequent in those days and sometimes terrible, sweeping the roofs of frail tenements when exposed to their violence.

Thus hope and fear, expectation and disappointment, in the early part of my life, succeeded each other. . . . About the twentieth year of my age, I became attached to a physician of some eminence in his profession. He supported a good moral character, though not a professor with any religious denomination. This was to me a trying dispensation. I loved the Society of which I was a member. I loved my parents and it grieved me to disobey them, so I strove to subdue my feeling. But the will being unsubjected, my efforts were unavailing. Yet our union was delayed for several years. At length, however, I obtained the desire of my heart. He proved to be all and more than I had anticipated, yet my mind was often troubled, for I felt as one who has strayed from the fold. But as I declined giving acknowledgment of my breach of Friends' discipline, I was disowned by them. But the root of the matter being in the heart, it was kept with Friends, and often when I turned my back in meetings for discipline. I strewed my tears on the way home. In about a year (with the consent of my husband) I requested to be admitted again into membership and was received. . . . 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This reinstatement into membership of Rebecca Lathrop, recorded in the Hinshaw abstracts of Miami records, is dated First Month 27, 1819. She lost her husband (Dr. Martin Lathrop) in 1823, after the birth of their daughter, Emily. Many years later, Rebecca Lathrop married Robert Hill of Richmond, Indiana, and it was in their home that these memoirs were written.

[The settlement on the Miamis prospered, and in 1807, two years later, Elizabeth Wright completes this account of the family migration when she writes to her brother Thomas in Mississippi, urging him to join them, and giving him the family news.]

I may tell thee, Susan and I have got back to Waynesville again. I am teaching school and have a prospect of its being very large. . . . Our saw mill was to start this week without fail which I expect by this time is going. If so, it will enable us, we hope, to make improvements. . . . Sister Rebecca had a little spell of illness which we did not expect would continue long when we left her. . . . Brother Benjamin's family and Brother Oliver's were likewise pretty much as usual. We made amongst us about 8 or 9 hundred weight of sugar also wine molasses. Tis indeed a fine country in many respects.

Brother Jonathan and I have made a purchase of 4 lots (each 2) in a new town called Oakland about one mile from Father's and nearer Brother Benjamin's who also has 2. Brother Jonathan thinks it likely he will set up a store in it in the fall.... Since we came here there have been several new Monthly Meetings established, one which is at Todds Fork by the name of Center Meeting, held alternately there and at Caesars Creek

of which Charity Cook is a member. . . .

We hear frequently from the settlements. We are daily expecting Cousin Israel Wright out again and several of our relations, Jonah and Mahlon, are here. I received a long letter from Hannah Albertson<sup>10</sup> lately which was a satisfaction. We have had a number of foreign friends to visit us, dear old John Simpson<sup>11</sup> was one, Isaac Bonsel — which makes it feel quite natural. I may tell thee we have had a very severe winter here. . . . We are all very desirous for thy welfare . . . and hope

<sup>10</sup> Student at Westtown School in 1803, when Elizabeth Wright attended, and teacher, 1804-7.—Helen Hole, Westtown Through the

Years (Westtown, Pa., 1942), p. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In 1806 "John Simpson, a Minister from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, paid a religious visit to the new settlers along the White Water, and was thus probably the first itinerant Minister to carry a spiritual message to Indiana . . . he went on from the White Water to have an interview with the famous chief, Tecumseh."—Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), p. 419.

thou wilt accept of a large share of love from us all as if named for I write on behalf of the family. I remain as ever thy affectionate Elizabeth Wright.

### GUIDE TO THE LOCATION OF AMERICAN QUAKER MEETING RECORDS

Compiled by LYMAN W. RILEY AND FREDERICK B. TOLLES

THE Society of Friends in America, by nature and historical evolution a highly decentralized body, has no single central depository for its records, nor is it likely that it ever will have one. Moreover, many of the individual Yearly Meetings of which it is composed have no common place for the deposit of their records and those of their subordinate meetings and no consistent policy for their maintenance and care. This situation, understandable in the light of Quaker organization and history, is almost the despair of the historian, eager to avail himself of the riches contained in the meeting records but lacking any key to their whereabouts.

In an effort to assemble information concerning the major Yearly-Meeting depositories, a questionnaire was sent in the spring and summer of 1950 to the custodian of records, or similar official, of each of the twenty-seven Yearly Meetings in the United States. The information supplied by twenty-two Yearly

Meetings is summarized below.

Following the name of each Yearly Meeting is:

 the address of the official or major depository, with the approximate number of volumes of records in parentheses;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An approach towards this goal is being made at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, where microfilm copies of some of the records of Meetings belonging to New England Yearly Meeting and the two New York Yearly Meetings are available as well as those of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (GC). For genealogical purposes the same end is attained in part through the William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records, described in this BULLETIN, 39 (Spring, 1950), 37-38, and 39 (Autumn, 1950), 106-07.

- (2) the name and address of the person in charge of the records, with his or her title;
- a statement concerning times at which, and conditions under which, records may be consulted;
- (4) whether mail inquiries are answered and the fee, if any, for such service; and
- (5) in a few cases, references to published checklists covering part or all of the records.

Yearly Meetings are further identified by one of the following symbols: C (Conservative), F (Five Years Meeting), GC (General Conference), I (Independent), U (United).

The compilers recognize that this is but a partial listing at best and that it will soon be out of date, as new custodians are appointed and changes are made in policies and in the location of records. They believe, however, that it will be useful, for a time at least, in guiding students of Quaker history to the archival materials pertinent to their studies.

#### Baltimore (F)

3107 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. (250)

Bertha E. King, Custodian of Vault, 5 Maryland Ave., Towson 4, Md. On written application to, or under supervision of, Custodian of Vault. Mail inquiries answered; \$1.00 minimum and \$1.00 per hour.

#### Baltimore (GC)

Stony Run Meetinghouse, 5114 N. Charles St., Baltimore 10, Md. (550)
LaVerne H. Forbush, Custodian of Records, 5014 Embla Ave., Baltimore 10, Md.

By appointment, September-May; extensive research must be approved by Yearly Meeting Executive Committee.

Mail inquiries answered; \$1.25 per hour.

#### California (F)

First Friends Church, 310 E. Philadelphia St., Whittier, Cal. (150) M. T. Burdg, Secretary of Trustees, 405 N. Hoover Ave., Whittier, Cal. On arrangement with the Trustees through the Secretary. Mail inquiries answered; no charge for reasonable requests.

#### Central (I)

No central depository. Mabel Biddle, Custodian, 1108 S. Bell St., Kokomo, Ind.

## Genesee (GC)

For meetings in United States see New York (F); records of meetings in Canada are in care of Prof. Arthur G. Dorland, Univ. of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

## Illinois (GC)

Clear Creek Meetinghouse, McNabb, Ill.; records of discontinued meetings at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Laura W. Smith, Librarian, McNabb, Ill.

By appointment.

No regular arrangement for answering mail inquiries.

## Indiana (F)

First Friends Meetinghouse, East Main and 15th St., Richmond, Ind. (550)

Maud Toms, Custodian of Records, 1071/2 N. 15th St., Richmond, Ind. By appointment.

Mail inquiries answered; \$1.00 per hour for non-members of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

## Indiana (GC)

Friends Home, Waynesville, Ohio.

Seth Furnas, Custodian, Waynesville, Ohio.

By appointment.

Mail inquiries answered.

See printed *Minutes*, 1944, 1945, 1946.

### Iowa (F)

Friends Meetinghouse, North C St. and College Ave., Oskaloosa, Iowa. Eva Tharp, Custodian, 505 North C St., Oskaloosa, Iowa. By appointment.

Mail inquiries answered; fee unspecified.

#### Kansas (I)

University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas. Pastor of University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas. By appointment. No regular arrangement for answering mail inquiries.

## New England (U)

Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. (300)

L. Ralston Thomas, Principal, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. By application to the Principal.

Mail inquiries answered; fee unspecified.

See Inventory of the Church Archives of Rhode Island: Society of Friends. (Providence: Historical Records Survey, 1939).

New York (F) [also New York (GC) and Genesee (GC) ] 221 E. 15th St., New York 3, N. Y. (1850, including 3 Yearly Meetings)

Keeper, Joint Committee on Records, 221 E. 15th St., New York 3, N.Y.

By appointment.

Mail inquiries answered; contributions toward expenses accepted. See New York City Church Archives: Religious Society of Friends, compiled by John Cox, Jr. (New York: Historical Records Survey, 1940).

## New York (GC)

See New York (F)

## North Carolina (F)

Guilford College Library, Guilford College, N. C. (290) Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, Chairman, Committee on Preservation of Records, Guilford College, N. C.

During library hours, under supervision of member of Committee on Records or library staff.

Mail inquiries answered; \$1.00 for non-members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

#### Ohio (C)

Friends Boarding School, Barnesville, Ohio (100)

Gilbert E. Thomas, Custodian of Records, 182 Bethesda St., Barnesville, Ohio.

By appointment.

Mail inquiries answered; no fee unless search requires more than one hour (\$1.00 per hour for longer searches)

(Additional records at Mt. Pleasant National Bank, Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, under care of Edward F. Stratton.)

#### Ohio (GC)

Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (80)

Dorothy G. Harris, Acting Librarian, Friends Historical Library. Swarthmore, Pa.

During library hours: 9:00-5:00, Mon. through Fri., 9:00-12:00, Sat. Mail inquiries answered; \$1.25 minimum and \$1.25 per hour for genealogical inquiries.

Ohio Friends Book Concern, Damascus, Ohio.

Ohio Friends Book Concern, Damascus, Ohio.

Daily except Sunday, 9:00-5:00.

No regular arrangement for answering mail inquiries.

#### Pacific (I)

No central depository.

Eubanks Carsner, Clerk, 3920 Bandini Ave., Riverside, Cal.

By appointment.

No regular arrangement for answering mail inquiries.

## Philadelphia (GC)

- Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (1550, including 250 on microfilm only).
- Dorothy G. Harris, Acting Librarian, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.
- During library hours: 9:00-5:00, Mon. through Fri., 9:00-12:00, Sat. Mail inquiries answered; \$1.25 minimum and \$1.25 per hour for genealogical inquiries.
- See Inventory of Church Archives: Society of Friends in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association, 1941).

## Philadelphia (I)

- Department of Records, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia 6, Pa. (1000)
- Howard H. Brinton, Custodian, or Eleanor Melson, Secretary, Department of Records, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia 6, Pa.
- Genealogical searching confined to official search clerks; application for permission to make historical researches may be made in person or by letter; notes and copies must be submitted to Custodian.
- Mail inquiries answered; \$1.00 per hour.
- See Inventory of Church Archives: Society of Friends in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association, 1941).

### Western (F)

- Friends Meetinghouse, Plainfield, Ind. (150); other records in charge of Ouarterly Meeting Custodians.
- Wilma E. Reeve, Custodian of Records. R.R. 2, Bridgeport, Ind.
- By appointment.
- No regular arrangement for answering mail inquiries.
- See printed Minutes, 1914-19 inclusive (supplements in later volumes).

#### Wilmington (F)

- Wilmington College Library, Wilmington, Ohio (60)
- Willis H. Hall, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio.
- During library hours.
- No regular arrangement for answering mail inquiries.

## Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham

Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

G. F. A. Baer, 173, Hampstead Way, N.W. 11, London, England. The Educational Work of W. E. Forster. London University: Institute of Education, thesis for Ph. D. degree, 1951. Data now being collected.

Maurice H. Bailey, 89, Hay Green Lane, Bournville, Birmingham 30, England. Quakers in Local Government in Birmingham, 1838-1914. (The part played by Friends as members of the town or city council, as magistrates, or as members of boards of guardians in the civic life of Birmingham). Birmingham University: History, thesis for M.A. degree. Research commenced.

Helen Buckler, 405 West 54th Street, New York 19, N. Y. Biographies of Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Lydia Maria Francis Child, and Isaac T. Hopper. (Since these individuals were all Abolitionists and three of them were Quakers, their periods overlap, and research is being conducted on all three at once).

Kenneth L. Carroll, Box 435, Easton, Maryland. Eastern Shore Quakerism. (A study of the chronological and institutional history of the Eastern-Shore Quakers). Research under way.

Charles C. Cole, Jr., 210 Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y. Charles Brockden Brown: Radical and Federalist. (A study of the career of America's first professional man of letters, with emphasis on his political ideas). Columbia Univerity: History, thesis for M.A. degree, 1947. Completed.

Sister Anna Mercedes Courtney, S.C., Mount St. Vincent-on-Hudson, New York 71, N.Y. A Critical Study of Whittier's Abolition Verse. (An investigation into the circumstances that evoked the verse, with a parallel study of his metrical skills and the development of his art). Columbia University: English, thesis for M.A. degree, 1946. Completed.

Ruth M. Lavare, 2923 Ashby Avenue, Berkeley 5, California. The Epistles of George Fox. (A study of the epistles: their subject-matter, literary background, style, qualities common to seventeenth-century religious epistles, and individual characteristics, together with a representative selection of the letters). University of California: English Literature, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research commenced.

Rev. John H. Leamon, 44 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. Two Great Americans of the Eighteenth Century: John Woolman, Mystic and Reformer, and Benjamin Franklin, Scientist, Statesman, and Man of the World. (Based on Woolman's *Journal* and Franklin's *Autobiography*). Completed.

John B. Magee, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. Sri Ramakrishna and John Woolman: A Sociological Study of Sanctity. (A comparison of similarities and differences between Christian and Hindu types of piety, including also a delineation of the nature of sanctity and some of its preconditions). Harvard University: Social Relations, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1950.

Edward Pierson, 32 Blair Hall, Princeton, New Jersey. American Friends Service Committee Work Camps in the United States. (Based on existing literature and AFSC work-camp files at Haverford College Library). Princeton University: History, thesis for B.A. degree, 1951. In progress.

Youra Qualls, Maryland State College, Princess Anne, Maryland. The Work of the Friends Freedmen's Associations. (A study of the distribution of relief to men and women made free by the war between the North and South, of the work done by the Society of Friends in educating the freedmen for the status of citizens, and of the efforts of Friends to help freedmen secure an economic footing as free men). Radcliffe College: History of American Civilization, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research commenced.

Opal Thornburg, 400 College Avenue, Richmond, Indiana. Lonely Journey: The Life and Art of Marcus Mote. (The story of a nineteenth-century Quaker artist in Ohio and Indiana, with data on his paintings—to be illustrated).

Marek Waysblum, 81, Elgin Crescent, W. 11, London, England. Early Relations between the Friends and Poland.

Francis D. West, 5237 Wissahickon Avenue, Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania. John Bartram and His Garden. (Little-known facts regarding his ancestry, some of his business dealings, and the history of the botanical garden). In progress.

Roland H. Woodwell, Whittier Hill, Amesbury, Massachusetts. A biography of John Greenleaf Whittier. Research nearly completed.

## Historical News

## Friends Historical Association

T HE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association, held at Friends Select School, Philadelphia, on Eleventh Month 27, 1950, was a most unusual occasion. For it is not often these days that "Mr. Whittier Comes to Town."

President William Wistar Comfort opened the meeting with a brief report on the Association's activities during the year and J. Theodore Peters, Headmaster of Friends Select School welcomed the Association. Then the speaker of the evening was introduced. He was dressed in the authentic Quaker costume of a century ago and he said his name was John Greenleaf Whittier. Some skeptical Friends were heard to voice the suspicion that it was the devoted collector and student of Whittier, C. Marshall Taylor of New York.

However that may be, he seemed to know a great deal about the poet's private life and inmost thoughts—his early romance with Elizabeth Lloyd, his religious sentiments, his political views (Republican, of course), and even his favorite method of discouraging unwelcome callers by answering the door with his hat on. It was all very convincing.

Afterwards Friends and their guests enjoyed refreshments in the school dining room.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors on Fourth Month 13, 1951, life-membership dues of the Association were raised from \$50.00 to \$75.00. Anyone wishing to become a life member may do so by paying \$50.00 until Seventh Month 1, 1951, but thereafter the cost will be \$75.00.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the year 11th Month 9th, 1949 to 11th Month 16th, 1950

RECEIPT	5	
Dues	received	Curre

-Current	***************************************	\$1620.00
Arrears	***************************************	85.00
Advance		
Life		50.00

Bulletins	170.45
Interest on Investments	190.18
Gifts	47.00

## \$2177.63

Cash on hand 1	1th Month 9, 1949	1698.44	
Total Receipts			\$3876.07
DISBURSEMENTS			

IDBURDER	MENIS		
Annual	Meeting	1949	 \$169.50
Annual	Meeting	1950	 13.75

	183.25
Spring Meeting	26.81
Bulletins (2 issues)	983.11
Editor's Fee	300.00
Miscellaneous	166.48
Publication Fund-Editor's Fee	40.00

#### .00 ---**\$**1699.65

	*
Cash Balance on deposit with Girard Trust Company	\$2176.42
Appropriated for Publication Fund\$	260.00
Appropriated for Special Fund	100.00

Available for Current Expenses ...... 1816.42

Respectfully submitted,	\$2176.42

WILLIAM MINTZER WILLS, Treasurer

## Examined and found correct: EDWARD WOOLMAN. EDWARD MOON

- \$1000. St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Income 4½% Bond Due 2022
  - 33 Shares Philadelphia Electric Co. Common Stock
  - 30 Shares Scranton Electric Co. Common Stock
  - 41 Shares Chase National Bank

Common	Stock
Book Value	\$4181.55
Income Viele	100 19

## From Quaker Libraries

The Guilford College Library has recently been enlarged by the addition of a new wing on each side of the building and the extension of the stack rooms at the back. In addition to the new reading room, seminar rooms, the music and art room, offices and workrooms, there is a pleasant room which contains the rare books of the Quaker Collection and offers facilities for study and research. A new and adequate vault, which provides space for the large collection of manuscript records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and of Guilford College, adjoins the Quaker Collection Room.

The Library was dedicated on Founders Day, November 10, 1950. The program for the day was centered on the theme of integration of the library and the liberal arts program. In the evening, Dr. Alexander C. Purdy delivered the Ward Lecture on the subject, "An Adequate Leadership for Friends Meetings." This was the first in a series of annual lectures established and endowed by the J. M. Ward Estate. It has been printed and copies may be obtained from President Clyde A. Milner, Guilford College. Other addresses of the day appear in the December issue of the *Alumni Journal*, copies of which are also available. On November 9, 1951, Howard H. Brinton will give the second Ward Lecture.

The principal addition recently made to the manuscript collection consists of the letters of Allen Jay, written in 1875 while he visited England, Ireland, and Norway, preaching as he went. In addition to these letters there are several small notebooks containing records on fund raising in North Carolina and a full set of Martha Jay's letters to her husband, written in 1875. She was at that time living at Bush Hill in North Carolina with their three small boys. Bush Hill was the center of the activities of the Baltimore Association to Assist and Advise Friends of Southern States and Allen Jay was the superintendent of its work; the locality is now called Springfield.

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society had Allen Jay's letters typed and has presented one copy to Earlham College and one to Eva M. Jay, daughter-in-law of Allen Jay.

The letters came to Guilford as a permanent loan from the Jay family.

In 1946 Springfield Meeting purchased the house in which the Jays lived during their sojourn in North Carolina (1868-1877) and has proceeded, under the leadership of Sara R. Haworth, to restore the house and to furnish it suitably. The room which Allen Jay used as the office of the Baltimore Association is now a guest room where guests of the meeting may be entertained, and the other two downstairs rooms are used for committee meetings and other group meetings. As yet the house contains very little of Allen Jay's furniture, but several pieces which once belonged to Nathan Hunt, patriarch of Springfield and of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, have been placed there. Thus the Jay house at Springfield stands as a fitting memorial to the past and as a center of meeting activity in the present.

The Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library has recently received from Twentieth Street Meeting in New York a scrapbook containing some three hundred Quaker pictures. Other recent gifts have included a silhouette book of the Allinson family and papers from the estate of Isaac Sharpless, Quaker historian and President of Haverford College. The following microfilms of Quaker records deposited in the Library of the Society of Friends in London have been acquired: London Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1688-1728; Morning Meeting Records, 1673-1726; Meeting for Sufferings Letters, 1757-1815; Spence MSS., Vol. III.

Fifteen autograph letters of Stephen Grellet addressed to Joseph John Gurney and others have been acquired by the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, along with eighteen additional letters written by friends and members of his family. Over fifty letters of Joshua Hunt and family of Moorestown, who removed to the vicinity of Brownsville, Pennsylvania in 1790, have also been received. A microfilm copy of the journal of Barclay White covering the period from 1871 to 1904 is now in the library; well indexed and illustrated, it

includes his experiences among the Indians as Superintendent of the Northern Superintendency. Another interesting accession is a volume containing thirty-six seventeenth-century Quaker tracts in Dutch, German, and English, once part of the library of Francis Daniel Pastorius.

The records of the two New York Yearly Meetings and of New England Yearly Meeting to 1850 (and in some cases beyond) may now be consulted on microfilm at Swarthmore. Also available on film are the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting from 1675 to 1725.

## **Book Reviews**

Quakers and Slavery in America. By Thomas E. Drake. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. x, 245 pages. \$3.75.

T HE PARTS played in the history of the United States by the workings of conscience and the hatred of sin have been extremely significant and it is well worth an attempt to understand them in a day when both conscience and sin seem to be concepts unknown to so many. When these motives are associated with the need of asserting the dignity of man and the equality of men as children of God there is a union of forces capable of mighty power, a power much needed in this troubled time.

Professor Drake has revealed to us with insight and richness of detail the story of the wrestling of the Quaker conscience with sin, the sin of slavery. When the Society of Friends was first conceived by its founders in the seventeenth century, Negro slavery was an established institution. At first the concern of the Friends was to ameliorate the institution and use it as an opportunity to preach Christ to these ignorant people forced to migrate from their native Africa. Then their eyes were opened to the horrors of the slave trade and finally they were led to question the institution of slavery itself. This latter searching of spirit caused much mental anguish, because many had large investments in slaves and if slavery were abolished their economic sacrifice would be great.

The struggle was difficult and it was not until the Colonial period was practically over that a consensus began to emerge among the Society of Friends. First came the determination that the slave trade was wrong and then that human slavery must go. In conformity with their beliefs the Friends undertook by written and oral testimonies to work for abolition. Some were active in establishing the routes to freedom, the "underground railroad" over which many a fugitive slave reached freedom. When the struggle for liberty incited more militant measures, those dedicated to the testimony of peace found difficulties which each resolved in his own way. In the Civil War many refused to fight but those who did were frequently not disowned as they had been in the days of the Revolution.

Professor Drake has made comprehensive use of the great, though scattered, Quaker archives. He has read the manifold testimonies, the carefully kept records. Many long-forgotten laborers in the vineyard of truth are brought back to us. The result is very revealing, a book very satisfying in its method and its temper. For the author has been both sympathetic and objective. He understands the religious behavior of the Friends and their attitude toward the problems of life. He can analyze carefully and scientifically the patterns of action which result

and he gives a fair and candid picture of a complex situation. Not the least of the merits of the work are its comprehensive bibliographical notes covering thirty-six pages and offering a convenient key to the decentralized records of the Society of Friends. There is much more to this book than its title implies; it is a valuable commentary on Quaker history down to 1865.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

Quakers in Science and Industry: Being an Account of the Quaker Contributions to Science and Industry During the 17th and 18th Centuries. By Arthur Raistrick. New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. 349 pages. 16 illustrations. 10 charts of family and business connections. \$6.00.

ARTHUR RAISTRICK is both a Friend and a scientist. For many years he has been lecturer in Applied Geology (Engineering and Mining) at King's College, Durham University. He has produced some fifty research papers on coal and coal technology and on glacial and post-glacial geology. He has received the Lyell Fund Award of the Geological Society. In 1938 he was president of the Friends Historical Society, and in 1945-46 he was a research Fellow at Woodbrooke.

In turning to Quakers in Science and Industry, Friends will follow with great interest the course of Truth in the lives of the successful businessmen and scientists who emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the spiritual family of the Society of Friends. Where did compromise take its toll? And where did Truth resist temptation and break through uninspired routines to stimulate new growth

in the Society of Friends and in science and industry?

The author arranges his documented account under five headings: (1) The Quakers (origins; manner of life as citizens and traders under persecution); (2) Quakers in Trade and Industry (traders, merchants, ironmasters, mining companies, and workers with brass, copper, china, agricultural implement, public gas-lighting, chocolate, type, chemicals, drugs, roads, canals, and railroads); (3) Quakers in Science and Medicine (clock and instrument makers, botanists and naturalists, doctors); (4) Quakers in Banking; and (5) Summary and Conclusions.

There are many lovable persons in this book, who did interesting and creative things in the spirit of seekers. Daniel Quare, who on conscientious grounds had refused appointment as the king's watchmaker, had access to men of the greatest rank of England and Europe, as evidenced by the lists of attenders at the weddings (after the manner of Friends) of his children. Drs. Fothergill and Lettsom were "the foci of a group of many Quakers" and non-Friends with whose help they promoted significant projects and movements at home and abroad.

John Bartram, brilliant American botanist, was disowned by Friends because of "his rejection of the miraculous in religion" but "he continued to attend the Friends Meeting."

There are references to the convincements of Friends: e.g., "Charles Harford, a soap boiler, who had become a Friend by the ministry of John Camm. . . ." One feels the power of the early Friends' movement. And this chronicle of the exhaustion of that movement in worldly success is a sobering one. As Friends became wealthy, they were conscious that the wealth came to them "unsought" and "in no way based upon the exploitation of their fellow men." "The respect of the world for the Quaker banker and industrialist, based on the virtues of the Quaker character, was the antidote to any possible revolution." "The employer emerged more and more into a world of responsibility and wealth, into which the employee had little or no entry."

This very readable book makes available to us a vast amount of historical detail. It will be especially fruitful if it leads us to apply ourselves to the Friends' revolution as effectively as Friends applied themselves to the Industrial Revolution.

Soil Survey Division, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey.

FRANCIS D. HOLE

Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, with Special Reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries. By R. A. Knox. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1950. viii, 622 pages. \$6.00.

THE EARLY FRIENDS — so we like to think — were mystics. The term has pleasing connotations: it suggests serenity, purity, gentleness, a seraphic manner and a saintly quality of life. Books have been written to show that George Fox was a spiritual brother of the Pseudo-Dionysius, Eckhart, Boehme, and William Law. The immediate experience of God was, to be sure, the central fact of his life, but for the rest it has always seemed to me that the founder of Quakerism would be singularly ill at ease in that select company of spiritual aristocrats.

Along comes Monsignor Ronald A. Knox who, writing with wit, grace, and wide-ranging though curiously selective scholarship, puts him in a different company, lumps him with Montanus and John of Leyden, with the fanatical "French Prophets" and the pathological convulsionaries of Saint-Médard, with John Wesley and the rag, tag, and bobtail of modern revivalists. Early Quakerism, he says, bore all the marks of an enthusiastic movement.

It would not have surprised George Fox to be called an enthusiast, for until a century ago the term *enthusiasm* meant nothing more or less than inspiration or possession by a divine or supernatural power, and this is precisely what Fox claimed. But the term, before it became denatured, also carried derogatory overtones: it connoted high pretensions and unseemly behavior, fanaticism and a suspicion of scandalous goings-on; in a word, it was not in good taste. Is Monsignor Knox fair and accurate in describing Fox and the early Friends as enthusiasts?

Fair he is not. Despite his protestation that he is not concerned to expose or discredit enthusiasm, his book is a polemic, now subtle, now obvious, from beginning to end. Monsignor Knox misses no chance to make his enthusiasts look ridiculous, and although up to a point I relished his donnish wit, I finally came to agree with the reviewer in the London Friend, who observed, in the words of Dr. Johnson, that "this merriment of parsons is mighty offensive." Moreover, he goes out of his way to try to pin the charge of scandalous behavior upon his subjects (I was going to say victims) until he finally gives away the game, when he expresses himself as willing to accord Madame de Guyon the benefit of the doubt, for "scandals are not to be multiplied praeter necessitatem." I came away from the book with the feeling that Knox simply has no sympathy for "the passion for holiness" (to quote the reviewer in the Friend again) that animated many of the enthusiasts, and the suspicion that, again despite his prefatory disclaimer, his real objection to them is that they were not good Catholics.

But if one can overlook the one-sidedness of the interpretation, it is hard to deny that Knox has placed the early Quakers in the right context and that, making the necessary allowances, his book is extremely useful both for its analysis of the nature of enthusiasm and for its encyclopedic treatment of the phenomenon in its historical course. The enthusiast,

he writes:

... expects more evident results from the grace of God than we others. He sees what effects religion can have, does sometimes have, in transforming a man's whole life and outlook; these exceptional cases (so we are content to think them) are for him the average standard of religious achievement. . . . He has before his eyes a picture of the early Church, visibly penetrated with supernatural influences; and nothing less will serve him for a model.

Is not this a fairly accurate statement of the illuminism, the perfectionism, the vision of "primitive Christianity revived" so characteristic of the early Friends? As he lays on further strokes, the picture becomes even more recognizable: insistence upon rigorous simplicity of life, rejection of the sacraments, cultivation of inward experience, depreciation of natural reason, appeal from the laws of worldly governments to the higher law of God—are not these of the essence of primitive Quakerism? Even the less important symptoms which he mentions—ecstatic utterance, convulsive movement, bizarre behavior, hints of the Second Coming—can be found in the first decade of Quakerism.

These hallmarks of enthusiasm were apparently present in the errant church at Corinth to which Paul addressed two cautionary

epistles. (With characteristically witty turn of phrase Knox calls his chapter on the birth of Christian enthusiasm "The Corinthians' Letter to St. Paul".) They can be found in the early heresies known as Montanism and Donatism. They were ubiquitous in what he calls the "underworld of the Middle Ages," emerging most distinctly in the Albigensian movement. They appear at the dawn of the Reformation as Anabaptism. They show up in curiously different combinations in Jansenism and Quietism. They pass from Moravianism into Methodism and they are constantly cropping up in revivalist sects in the United States to this day.

It is in this historical context that he treats of George Fox and his immediate followers. His discussion of primitive Quakerism is not particularly perceptive: most of his information about Fox appears to come not from the Journal but from a biography published in 1884; he states that the Ranters "left no literature" (but cf. Russell Schofield's article on "Some Ranter Leaders and Their Opinions" in the last number of this BULLETIN); he is not sure how many Friends were executed in Massachusetts Bay, although this question has been settled for years; he seems to dismiss the Quaker experience of the Inward Light as nothing more than a "hunch."

In spite of its weaknesses, however, Enthusiasm is a good book for Friends to read, along with Geoffrey Nuttall's Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, which focuses with more sympathy and deeper scholarship upon early Quaker experience. For it will give us a new and, I venture to believe, a revealing perspective upon those early Friends whom we love to invoke, but for whom "mystic" does not seem quite an accurate descriptive label.

F. B. T.

Whittier on Writers and Writing. By Edwin Harrison Cady and Harry Hayden Clark. Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1950. 219 pages. \$3.00.

WHITTIER on Writers and Writing now makes readily available for the first time the entire body of Whittier's literary essays. The editors have culled them from the files of newspapers and magazines not accessible to the general reader, have arranged them in chronological order, and have made the collection easy to use by the addition of Table of Contents, Index, and Check-List.

Still better, Professor Cady has appended a fourteen-page Introduction which points out the essential trends in Whittier's erratic development as a man of letters. This is essential because these Whittier essays are seldom important as single items, but are important as a group now that we have Professor Cady's welcome guideposts. His treatment is scholarly, and the style is satisfactory despite its perhaps

pedantic entanglement with isms: personalism, moralism, localism, nationalism, ruralism, regionalism, and of course realism.

Rather than give a digest of this Introduction (which is itself a digest of Whittier's essays) I may quote from pages 2 and from pages 9-10 sample passages which are fairly representative of Professor Cady's method:

As Quaker, reformer, and man of his age, Whittier inevitably subordinated all other concerns to moralism throughout his critical career. Fashionably fascinated by Byron in the 1820's, he struggled to subdue his admiration for the sublimity of Byron's genius in order to warn "the young and uncontaminated" against him. From that point forward he praised the healthfully moral and Christian, regardless of literary demerit. Persistently he recorded his objections to loose, lurid, or impious writing. This was the feeling which made him toss his gift-copy of Leaves of Grass into the grate, just as it made him exalt the otherwise third-rate work of Brainard, the Carey sisters, Grace Greenwood, and Frances Willard.

When, about 1850, Whittier's mind gradually grew away from the dominance of reform toward the balance of his later years, there came the development of an individual sort of realism. This seems to have been an amalgamation of his romantic localism, become ruralism rather than regionalism, his Quaker passion for "plainness," and a special view of the nature of reality. It is much to Whittier's credit that, afloat on contemporary literary eddies though he was, he opposed the pretentiousness and false elegance of the current literary gentility. The Quaker notion of "plainness" did not, in essence, demand an adherence to uniformity but to the significant facts in a given siutation. Mere fancies, however popular, were ruled out as leading to distortion of view and to eventual disaster. Combined with his peculiar localism, this brand of truthfulness made him worship that side of "reality" which was represented by the poetry of Burns.

All in all, this new book (except for its shocking typography) is a valuable addition to our means of getting closer to Whittier. It should be in the Whittier collection of every library.

Haverford, Pennsylvania

EDWARD D. SNYDER

Rujus Jones: Master Quaker. By David Hinshaw. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1951. xi, 306 pages. \$4.00.

SOME YEARS back a young Quaker, a secretary of one of the city meetings, said to the writer of this review, "I think Rufus and Alexander [Purdy] are wrong." He then announced a plan to resign his position and study psychology. It is to be hoped that he reads this book which reveals the masterful use of psychology by the Master Quaker.

Rufus Jones achieved to an unusual degree a "fullness of stature of manhood" as husband, father, teacher, editor, scholar, preacher, author, and leader of men. David Hinshaw, his first biographer, a brilliant newspaper reporter who has become mature and deeply appreciative of human excellence, reveals the fullness of Rufus' personality and achievement clearly and persuasively.

Early in the religious and intellectual strivings of his own generation, Rufus understood that there was no conflict between true science characterized by intellectual honesty and true religion expressed in love. Hinshaw's accurate reporting of Rufus' experience, quoting his own words at points of climax, will lift the horizon for many a youth whose teachers, whether in science or in religion, fail to reveal the significance of each study to the other. Young men and women finding that their minds work more efficiently in a certain line, as in literature or science or theology, readily drift into premature specialization and become less able to deal wisely with life's problems. Here is a record of experience that will suggest to them their own possibilities.

There is moreover a numerous group of avid readers who have had brief contact with Rufus Jones without opportunity for a full acquaintance. They want more but have not had time to read all his writings, to visit in his home, to attend his funeral, to communicate with his former students and to talk to his associates in the Five Years Meeting, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Wider Quaker Fellowship. Reporter Hinshaw has done this for them.

To get a true picture one must read the whole book, especially the chapter entitled "Pain for Friend." Rufus' early public career is described briefly in earlier chapters as a rapid movement from one notable achievement to another, as if he were favored with angelic powers. He had personal problems and difficulties nevertheless. In addition to the illnesses and accidents of middle life, he spent ten months in bed at ten years of age, because of an infected foot. His eyesight failed him early in his teaching career. The death of his first wife and later of their son stirred him to the depths. The author rightly does not dwell on the detail of these handicaps, for Rufus could and did arise from them. Typical is his reading of the Bible aloud to his patient grandmother in his boyhood illness. A ten-year-old boy today with an injured foot would have a totally different experience. Antiseptic surgery would prevent infection. Comic books or television would keep him quiet for a day or two in bed. It would not require a journey to Europe to find an ophthalmologist who could prescribe glasses to set a youth free in the world of books.

The family, three generations in one home, the hard physical labor on a Maine farm, the flowering out of a Quaker community, religion with a world-wide view, an insatiable hunger for learning, make a combination unusual in the twentieth century. It is the hardest part of Rufus' formative experiences to reproduce.

The reader who takes up this book to get better acquainted with the Master Quaker will find an adequate summary of the history of the Society of Friends in Chapters two to four, a history of the Jones family and the South China, Maine, community. In appropriate places the

author describes distinctive Quaker ways in detail. Seventeen illustrations of present places or moments of significance in Rufus' life are included.

The chapter entitled "Rufus Jones, Author," will enable many

readers to choose among his fifty-six books.

The Appendix contains material scattered among periodicals and personal letters which belong to the picture. There is the message which he completed only a few hours before his death, which he planned to deliver at New England Yearly Meeting. It is reprinted from *Friends Intelligencer*, as is his account of "Our Day in the German Gestapo" in which the writer of this review was one of his companions. The reader will also find appreciations published by Friends' magazines after his death, and the long list of colleges and universities in all parts of the world in which he lectured.

Huntingdon Valley, Pennsylvania

GEORGE A. WALTON

Quakers Find a Way: Their Discoveries in Practical Living. By Charles M. Woodman.\* Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1950. 280 pages. \$2.50.

T HAT PART of the Religious Society of Friends which is embraced by the Five Years Meeting faces with particular sharpness two large problems shared by the larger American Christian fellowship: first, the need for adequate training of the ministry, and second, the dynamic urgency of the literalist wing of the evangelical movement. Few congregations, churches, or ministers fail to feel these pressures and the Extension Movement of the Five Years Meeting and its con-

stitutent groups have not escaped.

Charles Woodman, long-time pastor of West Richmond Church in Richmond, Indiana, and teacher of Quaker History in Earlham College, addressed his book to helping Quaker pastors in these two areas. The material does not pretend to represent new research, but ingeniously and helpfully organizes rather well-established information around these particular problems for "the young Quaker preachers of America who, on the background of a liberal Quakerism, reflecting the Sermon on the Mount, are carrying forward the mission of Christ in the world." Woodman used his best homiletic style to urge the unity in Friends' faith underlying all our differing practices and to win pastors to the appreciation of ancient Quaker traditions and beliefs which often seem to criticize and condemn the very existence of pastors. No small or unimportant task! Thus the description of Quakers' mysticism and attitude toward sacraments, scripture, and creeds becomes a plea for "progressive

<sup>\*</sup> Charles M. Woodman died on December 24, 1950.

revelation"; the history of the evangelical development of American Quakerism becomes an *apologia* for the Quaker preacher; and the analysis of Friends' approach to social problems echoes the ringing appeal of primitive Christianity and calls for support and understand-

ing of the American Friends Service Committee.

Friends everywhere will find this a provocative book, as hardly a page is free from some interpretation or conclusion which has not been questioned at some time or place. The chapter on "The Dilemma of the Discipline" is excellent and would be helpful to Friends in the Lake Erie Association of Friends and Pacific Yearly Meeting, both of which are involved in the dilemma. I regret that the author omitted some appraisal of John Wilbur's personality and contribution to Quakerism in America, particularly as he referred so frequently to the Quietist period. I believe that Charles Woodman was in error by twenty years with regard to the dates of the establishment of our first Quaker schools at Waltham Abbey and Shacklewell, an error on which he built an interpretation of Fox's and other early Friends' attitudes toward education which is highly questionable.

But this is a good and lively book for the purpose it has undertaken. Its real merit will be established in its effect on those newly-extended churches where neither pastor nor congregation operates from past experience with Friends, where ministers and congregations hold both the officials of the Five Years Meeting and the American Friends Service Committee suspect and unsound and, finally, in those Friends' circles where right and loving attitudes will do most to create the unity and harmony whose lack has so often threatened and done damage to

our Society.

Pacific Oaks Friends School

EDWIN A. SANDERS

History of The Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1850-1950. By Gulielma Fell Alsop. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1950. xi, 256 pages. \$4.00.

N THIRD Month 11th, 1850 the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania was incorporated by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Thus began the career of women in medicine with the first medical college for women in the history of education. On the centenary, a hundred years afterwards to the day, the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania held its anniversary on Founder's Day as the only medical college for women in America. But in addition to a college, it is now a hospital, a research center and a nurses' training school.

The outstanding event of the anniversary celebration this year was the brilliant address by Gulielma Fell Alsop of the Class of 1908, based on the researches for her history. She captivated her audience then. She now holds her readers from the founding right through the first century as she tells the magnificent struggle of courageous women (and men) to open up the practice of medicine to the fairer sex. It is a

glorious story of real pioneering.

Running all through this history are Quaker names and faces and concerns. Lucretia and James Mott were prime movers and James was one of the original group of twenty-one Trustees, all men! Joseph S. Longshore was the first Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children on the original faculty of six professors and a dean. Longstreth, Naylor, Fussell, Warrington, Elder, Corson, Ann Preston and Hannah Longshore were the first in the long line of Friends connected with this remarkable institution.

The first century was not an easy one but surely it built the solid foundations for the world-famed center now on the hill at Henry Avenue and Abbotsford Road in Germantown, Philadelphia. This is not a review in the usual form. It is an invitation to share vicariously in an experience worthy of recording. The author, naturally of Quaker background, with the names of the Mother of Quakerism and the wife of Pennsylvania's founder, "a woman of Ten Thousand," given to her by her Haverford father, spent most of her own active medical practice as the medical officer of Barnard College.

At the start of the second century it still remains true that at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania "a woman of determination, ability and courteous demeanor will here be able to go as far as her talents and training can take her" into the world of medicine as a

woman and as a physician.

Overbrook, Philadelphia

RICHMOND P. MILLER

The Holy Experiment: Our Heritage from William Penn; Series of Mural Paintings in the Governor's Reception Room, in the Senate Chamber, and in the Supreme Courtroom of the State Capitol at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. By Violet Oakley. Philadelphia: Cogslea Studio. [c1950]. 158 pages. \$7.50 (subscription only).

A SONE might expect of a work published in a limited edition, Violet Oakley's The Holy Experiment is a handsome book, almost a sumptuous one. The format and type-face are a feast for the eyes. The publication was intended to appear in 1944 to celebrate the tercentenary of the birth of William Penn. Owing to its delayed appearance, Miss Oakley has been able to include excerpts from speeches made during the tercentenary celebrations—a somewhat dubious advantage. "Our heritage from William Penn," the book's central theme, is represented by reproductions of drawings made by the author from her cycles of

murals in the State Capitol at Harrisburg entitled The Founding of the State of Liberty Spiritual, The Creation and Preservation of the Union, and The Opening of the Book of the Law. The drawings are supported by quotations from the Bible and other pertinent sources. William Penn's participation in the events represented in the first cycle and his influence upon those in the second and third are amplified by quotations from documents relating to him and from his writings. The whole is an encouraging reminder to those who work for peace in these difficult days of the rich spiritual heritage which is theirs to draw upon for sustenance and authority.

It is ungracious to criticize this excellent effort, yet a few discrepancies of quality should be mentioned. An occasional passage written by the author indicates a straining to sustain exaltation of mood which seems to have produced a mannerism of unnecessarily inverted phrases. This slightly inflated style invites invidious comparisons with the straightforward style of other writers within the same book. The drawings seem especially suited to book illustration, many being charming and intimate rather than monumental. Others indicate by breadth of conception and design their derivation from large-scale murals. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are "The Prophecy of William Penn," especially the allegorical figure of Unity, and the more informal "Penn Meets the Quakers." The dramatic separation of Penn from his father has, unfortunately, been reduced to a bit of sentimental genre. With the exception of the faulty reproduction of the drawing on page 31 of which a much better version appears on page 53, and the somewhat trick design of the dedication on page 101, the level of craftsmanship maintained is consistently high.

For this reviewer to congratulate Miss Oakley would be superfluous. The biographical note and the comments at the end of her book contain many eulogies of her many excellencies.

Swarthmore College

HEDLEY H. RHYS

Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840. By Stevenson W. Fletcher. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1950. xiv, 605 pages. Paper, \$2.50. Cloth, \$3.00.

FEW READERS will be tempted to make their way through all six hundred pages of this encyclopedic volume unless their appetite for facts is insatiable. But it will be invaluable as a reference work, and there is pleasure to be found in dipping into it here and there, if only for its hundreds of quotations redolent of the husbandry and rural life of early Pennsylvania.

Do you want to know what type of haying equipment was in use on Pennsylvania farms in the eighteenth century? or when the Hessian fly first attacked the wheat crop? or what the tax rate on farm property was in 1822? Are you interested in the history of the Conestoga wagon or that noble beast the Conestoga horse? the craze for silk culture or Merino sheep? the complexities of "moon farming"? the grandiose plans set on foot by antislavery Friends for a maple-sugar industry in Pennsylvania? You can be sure that it is all here.

In the compilation of this mountain of facts it was inevitable that errors should creep in—that, for example James Logan, Penn's secretary, should be called William (p. 324), that his son William, the Councillor, should become George (p. 358), and that his son George, the Senator, should be referred to as William (p. 366). Happily, slips of this sort appear to be relatively few. Nevertheless I feel bound to report with sorrow that the often-exposed "Cotton Mather" hoax concerning William Penn turns up again (pp. 531-32) with the curious apology that although there is "considerable doubt" as to its validity, it

"faithfully portrays" the Puritan attitude towards Quakers.

Naturally many Friends appear in these pages; often they are found among the most progressive of Pennsylvania's farmers. Moses Pennock, for example, invented a threshing machine, a grain drill, and a revolving wooden hay rake; one would like to know more about this ingenious Friend. It was not part of the plan of the book, of course, to dwell upon individuals or to isolate the distinctive characteristics of Quaker rural life, although the chapters on the farm home, family life, social life, the rural school, and the rural church offer many revealing hints. Who will undertake to evaluate the Quaker contribution to American agriculture or to paint in full detail an authentic picture of Quaker country life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?

A pleasant feature of this book are the delightful vignettes of Pennsylvania farm scenes drawn by Stevenson W. Fletcher, Jr.

F. B. T.

The Journal of John Woolman. Edited by Janet Whitney. Chicago. Henry Regnery Company. 1950. 233 pages. \$2.75.

IT MAY well be one of the marks of John Woolman's greatness that his Journal has never been printed exactly as he prepared it for the printer. The various editions of this quietly tremendous classic of religious experience and of English prose have invariably been the fruit of an inter-action between John Woolman and his editors, beginning with a committee of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, continuing through John Greenleaf Whittier, and finding expression today in Janet Whitney. None of the editors, to my knowledge, has misrepresented

John Woolman or tampered with the core of his expression, but all of them have attempted to present him as effectively as possible to the people of their own times. This attempt has been the consequence, I believe, on the one hand of a stirring sense of the power with which Woolman experienced truth and translated it into action and, on the other, of a personal warmth toward a man whose humility was as broad as his goodness. Indeed it was John Woolman himself who gave his editors permission to deal with his Journal as they saw fit.

In 1922, Amelia Mott Gummere attempted what might be called a scholarly presentation, giving alternate readings at such places as the wording of the first quarto, second quarto, and folio manuscripts differed. This valuable edition, partly because certain materials and certain facts were unavailable at the time, partly because it, too, was a product of the impact of its subject upon its editor, did not entirely achieve its aim of verbal accuracy. It is now out of print.

Janet Whitney's edition is neither a full variant-reading attempt of the Gummere sort nor is it a Whittier-like attempt at rephrasing parts of the original language. Direct and careful resort was had to the manuscripts; there is not a word in the edition that was not written by John Woolman. But it too reflects the impress of John Woolman upon an editor. At each point of variance among the original manuscripts, Janet Whitney has selected the version that falls most effectively upon her own alert and contemporary ear. In her Introduction she indicates that "the choice has been made with the desire to present Woolman's own thought in its most arresting expressions."

The general plan of Janet Whitney's approach is indicated in her Introduction. Its two most significant features are the use of the first quarto, with one or two exceptions, up to the time of the death of John Woolman's sister in 1742, and the use of the original manuscript—half of which was discovered only in 1941—rather than the edited version of the journal of the voyage to England. All but one of Woolman's dreams are included in the edition, editorial prerogative having been employed to banish the dream in which Woolman imagines a Negro being eaten.

The dreams are important, of course, because they suggest the deep housing of Woolman's spiritual-social concerns and the unclutteredness of his inward rooms. The present reviewer happens to feel that the omitted dream has not only force but point, yet he cannot bring himself to object to its omission. So to object would be to object to the vital interrelationship of author and editor, which, after all, gives the present work, like the past works, its excellence, and which gives it an inward authenticity greater than outward scholarly evidences. And, besides, Janet Whitney includes, as if in compensation, another dream which has appeared in none of the other editions of the Journal.

This is not to argue that evidences of scholarship are unimportant.

Certain historical studies require access to the precise wording of the various manuscripts. Careful research, furthermore, underlies the Janet Whitney edition of the Journal. The manuscripts themselves, however, are directly available for research needs. The needs of general publication of a great religious classic are perhaps best served by its presentation through the sympathetic ear of a sensitive editor. Janet Whitney's success in this capacity leads this reviewer to the suggestion that she and her publishers consider an edition of John Woolman's essays as companion to this highly satisfying edition of the Journal.

Princeton, New Jersey

HERRYMON MAURER

## **Briefer Notices**

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

Bulletin No. I of the Warrington Chapter of the Daughters of the American Colonists (York, Pennsylvania, 1950, 12 pages) consists of reprints of two items written by Albert Cook Myers half a century ago, viz., the account of Warrington Monthly Meeting, established in 1745 (from Immigration of the Irish Quakers, 1902, pp. 168-171), and inscriptions from tombstones in the adjacent graveyard (from W. H. Egle, Notes and Queries . . . Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania, 1899, pp. 220-224).

The American Mind, edited by H. R. Warfel, R. H. Gabriel, and S. T. Williams (New York: American Book Co., Revised Edition, 1947), contains among hundreds of selections from the literature of the United States a section on the "Church and the New World Mind" (pp. 1517-22) from Rufus M. Jones.

A study of the journals of three early Pennsylvania Quakers appears in Pennsylvania History, 17 (1950), 265-280, under the title "Three Faces of the Colonial Quaker Testimony." They are summarized thus: "Chalkley the moralist, Dickenson the dramatic narrator, and Story the intellectual, in effect portray the underlying psychological history of their time." The article is a portion of a projected history of Pennsylvania literature which E. Gordon Alderfer is developing under the auspices and with the aid of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. That may explain why in text or notes he makes no reference to the newer works like C. M. and E. W. Andrews' edition of Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or Emily Moore's Travelling with Thomas Story.

Carl R. Woodring has described in the Harvard Library Bulletin, 4 (1950), 351-358, a collection of twenty-three unpublished "Letters

from Bernard Barton to Robert Southey" in the custody of that library. Southey's interest in Quakerism and in the Quaker poet has been known from other sources. Here among other matters Barton vindicates the legitimacy of a Quaker's being a poet and discusses Shelley and sundry literary items.

In Nineteenth Century Fiction, 5 (1950), 39-46, Carl R. Woodring deals with another relation between a Quaker and a non-Quaker writer, "Charles Reade's Debt to William Howitt." The former's It is Never Too Late to Mend is shown to be dependent in its Australian portion on the descriptions in Howitt's Love, Labour and Gold.

The Friends Home Service Committee has published a useful pamphlet intended to explain to non-Friends a striking asset of Quakerism, The Place of Women in the Society of Friends (London, 1950, 15 pages).

The third Isaac T. and Lida K. Johnson Lecture was given before the Five Years Meeting on October 22, 1950, by Elbert Russell and is printed as a thirty-two page pamphlet entitled *Friends at Mid-Century*. It is a thoughtful appraisal of Friends' history, their present responsibility and their resources for meeting it.

The third publication of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, consisting of a historical lecture given at Yearly Meeting in 1949, is by Adelaide L. Fries and is entitled Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History (16 pages).

Carl J. Scherzer's comprehensive study of *The Church and Healing* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950, 272 pages) has a brief section (pp. 91-94) on the healing work of George Fox.

In Classics of Religious Devotion originally a series of addresses given at Harvard, in 1948 under the auspices of the United Ministry to Students in Cambridge, six writings are discussed briefly by six local writers (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950), among them John Woolman's Journal by Henry J. Cadbury (pp. 87-102). Augustine's Confessions, Maimonides' Guide for the Perplexed, à Kempis' Imitation of Christ, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and Schweitzer's Out of my Life and Thought are the companions of the Quaker journal.

James F. Maclear writes in Church History, 19 (1950), 240-270, on "Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism." He believes that in 1659 Friends came very near a venture in political activity under the leadership of Sir Henry Vane. They were motivated, like other left-wing sects, by millenarian and anti-royalist tendencies, but after some confusion and

wavering, partly due to their pacifist sentiments, nothing came of it. The nearest things to evidence are carefully collected. The suggestions of names for justices who would not persecute, solicited in May, 1659, form the most solid datum.

An "anecdotal talk" on "John Greenleaf Whittier and His Birthplace" (illustrated) by Donald C. Freeman is reproduced in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 86 (1950), 295-310. It is intended to preserve some sense of the local connections of the universal Quaker

poet, and it includes some new or out-of-the-way data.

Harold L. Dorwart contributes to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 75 (1951), 76-90, "Biographical Notes on Jonathan Knight (1787-1858)," based on manuscripts given some months ago to the Historical Collections of Washington and Jefferson College by the subject's granddaughter. A Quaker throughout his life, Knight was a mathematician and map maker. He was chief engineer for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1830 to 1842. In 1854-6 he served a term in Congress.

"Joseph Barcroft 1872-1947," of Quaker descent and a member of the Society for more than half his life, is the subject of an appreciative scientific notice by J. J. W. Roughton, in *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society*, Vol. 6, Number 18 (1949), 315-345, with a portrait and a bibliography that runs to about 300 items. His field of special achievement was physiology, of which he was professor at Cambridge. The account recognizes the conflict with Quaker principles when in 1915 he undertook research on gas warfare, but stresses the influence of the Bible throughout his life.

The Story of Friends Neighborhood Guild by Francis Bosworth, the executive director, was published in 1950 to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of a notable Quaker enterprise which has been carried on under different names, in different locations, since January 11, 1880. The forty-eight-page illustrated brochure brings the story down to the present work of an up-to-date settlement house, located at Fourth and Green Streets, Philadelphia, in a meetinghouse built in 1804.

M. Giraud contributes to the Revue de l'histoire des religions, 135 (1949), 49-78, 143-186; 136 (1949), 58-98, an extended article in three instalments on "La vie religieuse dans la colonie de New Plymouth (1620-1691)." The relations with Quakers in various parts of the colony are dealt with toward the end of the second instalment.

Further extracts from the manuscript journal of George Churchman (1730-1814) of East Nottingham (cf. BULLETIN 39:54), dealing with

his experiences in New York and New England, are published by Henry J. Cadbury in the New England Quarterly, 23 (1950), 396-400, under the title "A Quaker Travelling in the Wake of War, 1781."

The early Quaker element in South Jersey makes appropriate the mention here of two illustrated books by Joseph S. Sickler. One is The Old Houses of Salem County (Salem, New Jersey: Sunbeam Publishing Company, Second edition, 1949, 110 pages). The Quaker settlers adopted here the Flemish-bond style brickwork, in which the owners' initials, numbers and other designs were set in the wall in colored brick. Eighty such houses are still standing. The other is Tea Burning Town, Being the Story of Ancient Greenwich on the Cohansey in West Jersey (New York: Abelard Press, 1950, xiv, 125 pages). Like Salem, Greenwich was founded in 1675 by John Fenwick. Like Boston, it celebrated a party for the destruction of tea in 1774.

A new magazine under an old name, American History, includes an illustrated article on "Pennsbury" by Donald O. Cadzow (Vol. 1, No. 4 [Summer, 1950], 50-51, 66-67).

Our editor, Frederick B. Tolles, contributes to the National Genealogical Society Quarterly, 38 (1950), 37-41, an article, "A New Tool for Genealogical Research: The William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records." The information parallels that published in this BULLETIN, 39 (1950), 37 f., except that it gives a complete list of names and dates of foundation of the 197 meetings indexed; ninety percent of them are west of the Mississippi.

"Mary Capper's Diary of her Stay at Wilmington, Sussex, from November, 1781, to October, 1782" is published in Sussex Notes and Queries, 11 (1946), 90-93, 125-127. Though she was not yet a Friend, this material is also included in the Journal published by Friends.

Lelia Morse Wilson has published with text and charts Ten Generations from William and Mary Dyer, Pioneer Settlers in Newport, Rhode Island. (Putnam, Conn., 1949, 70 pages.) While only one line of descent from this couple is given, the ancestry of the wife of each of the Dyers in this line is traced. Thus besides the Quaker martyr and her descendants some other Quaker colonial families appear.

## ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

BY LYMAN W. RILEY

Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College

## The Canadian Friend

An editorial interview with Emmett Gulley, who visited the Dukhobors of Canada during the spring of 1950 as a representative of the American and Canadian Friends Service Committees, tells of some of the present problems of this sect.—Dec., 1950, pp. 2-4.

## The Friend (London)

"William Savery, 1750-1804," by L. Hugh Doncaster, outlines the life and describes the preaching of this American Quaker minister.—Sept. 15, 1950, pp. 687-688.

Doris N. Dalglish has some appreciative words to say about William Penn's Some Fruits of Solitude which was also well-liked by Robert Louis Stevenson; "Stevenson and Penn."—Nov. 17, 1950, pp. 839-840.

"Friends and the 1851 Exhibition," by Hubert W. Peet, consists mainly of excerpts from *The Friend* (London) of 1851 which comment on the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace.—Jan. 12, 1951, pp. 29-31.

## Friends Intelligencer

"Insights of Permanent Value in Barclay," are, to Waldo Beach, his doctrines of "selective withdrawal" from the world and "vocational pacifism."—Sept. 9, 1950, pp. 527-528.

F. Charles Thum writes of "Creative Quaker Architecture," the architecture of the early American meetinghouses, which, he says, was forward-looking and even experimental in its day.—Oct. 7, 1950, pp. 587-588.

The 250th anniversary celebration of Moorestown Meeting, N. J., is described by Shaun B. Copithorne.—Oct. 7, 1950, pp. 589-590.

In "Questions and Answers about Quakers Past and Present," Frederick B. Tolles discusses the adoption of the pastoral system by some American Friends and tells of the origin of the term "Quaker."—Oct. 14, 1950, pp. 604-605.

Waldo Beach finds that one of the "Insights of Permanent Value in Woolman" is Woolman's "integrity to truth," i.e. his concern for right motivation rather than practical success.—Oct. 21, 1950, p. 617.

Letter from the Past No. 112 discusses the substitution in the plain language of "Thee for Thou," and some other contradictions in Quaker language usage.—Nov. 11, 1950, p. 661.

language usage.—Nov. 11, 1950, p. 661.

"John of Haverhill," by A. Gerald Whittier, is an imaginative account of the birth of John Greenleaf Whittier; it is part of a proposed novelized life of the poet.—Dec. 9, 1950, pp. 720-721.

After showing that the Bible has always been of great value to Friends, Frederick B. Tolles defines "continuity of revelation" in relation to Friends beliefs: "Questions and Answers about Quakers Past and Present."—Dec. 23, 1950, pp. 755-756.

and Present."—Dec. 23, 1950, pp. 755-756.

"Minor Queries re Reunion," Letter from the Past No. 113, are in reference to the proper name for a united Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the correct numbering of its sessions.—Dec. 30, 1950, p. 765.

Anna Green Shoemaker describes briefly an interchange of visits between Indians and Friends in the 1760's, involving chiefly Papunahung and John Woolman; "Visit of Religious Indians to the Quakers in Philadelphia."—Dec. 30, 1950, pp. 765-766.

In "A Retrospect of Recent Quakerism, 1900-1950," Frederick B. Tolles writes comprehensively of events and trends in organization, action, and doctrine.—Jan. 6, 1951, pp. 4-6.

Elinor Dennis submits to a "Quakeriana" department some amus-

ing anecdotes involving Quakers.-Jan. 6, 1951, pp. 10-11.

"Now and Then" shares some of his thoughts "On Rereading John Woolman's Journal," among which are a new appreciation of Woolman's contacts with "New Lights" and his concern about war taxes: Letter from the Past No. 114.—Jan. 20, 1951, pp. 38-39.

## The Friends' Quarterly

Lulie A. Shaw quotes delightful excerpts from "Some Letters from Young Quakers in the 1840's,"—the family letters of Benjamin Head Cadbury, his wife, Candia, and their numerous children.—Oct., 1950, pp. 244-255.

"The Dialectic of Quaker History," according to Stephen Allott, has meant successive shifts in emphasis from prophecy based on inward experience, to Quietism, then to evangelicalism, then to service, and perhaps, in the future, again to inward experience.—Jan., 1951, pp. 24-30.

In "Quaker Simplicity," Gladys Wilson describes the witness to simplicity on the part of early Friends and its transformation when made a part of the discipline and tradition; she suggests that perhaps the Society of Friends today is getting nearer to a true understanding of simplicity.—Jan., 1951, pp. 31-41.

of simplicity.—Jan., 1951, pp. 31-41.

"Human Document," by Peter Barber, is an entertaining account of some eighteenth-century English Quakers, in particular John Clark

and his wife Jane.-Jan., 1951, pp. 46-51.

## THE HEBREW IMPACT ON CIVILIZATION

Edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES

DAGOBERT D. RUNES

This epochal symposium is a sociological and historical contribution of utmost importance. Each of the 17 authors is an authority in his field. Subjects covered include the Jew's effect on: religion, the arts and sciences, law, philosophy, the democratic idea. Frankly discussed are the Jew as statesman, as soldier, in public life, in social work; in drama, theatre, film, and the dance; music, painting and sculpture.

Henry Pratt Fairchild,

New York University, says:
"An eye-opener to the majority
of even well-informed people. . .
Anyone who wishes his behavior
to be guided by the knowledge of
the truth will be the better for
reading it."

15 E. 40th St., Desk 470 New York 16, N. Y. Expedite shipment by prepayment A Primary Fox Document:

THE SHORT JOURNAL AND ITINERARY JOURNALS OF GEORGE FOX

Edited by NORMAN PENNEY

Introduction by T. EDMUND HARVEY

Published for

FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

403 pages .... Cloth .... \$1.00

FRIENDS BOOK STORE

302 Arch Street Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania

## INVENTORY OF CHURCH ARCHIVES: SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Prepared by The Pennsylvania Historical Survey

Containing sketches of all the Quaker meetings in Pennsylvania with a guide to their records

# BENJAMIN WEST'S PAINTING OF PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

BY ELLEN STARR BRINTON

> FRIENDS BOOK STORE 302 Arch Street Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania

## COMMITTEES OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## APPOINTED FIRST MONTH, 1951

## Entertainment Committee

Chairman: Winona C. Erickson, Paoli, Pa.

George N. Highley Samuel J. Bunting, Jr. Arthur M. Dewees Lyman W. Riley Dorothy G. Harris Jane Moon Snipes Anna B. Hewitt Frederick B. Tolles

Edward E. Wildman

### Finance Committee

Chairman: Edward Woolman, Panmure Road, Haverford, Pa. Edward R. Moon Jonathan M. Steere William Mintzer Wills

#### Historical Research Committee

Chairman: Henry J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Pl., Cambridge 38, Mass.

Elbert Russell Anna Cox Brinton Edwin B. Bronner C. Marshall Taylor Frederick B. Tolles Thomas E. Drake Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert Janet Whitney

## Membership Committee

Chairman: Anna B. Hewitt, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

Thomas S. Ambler Charles Henry Moon Katharine W. Elkinton Susanna Smedley Dorothy G. Harris C. Marshall Taylor

William Mintzer Wills

## Nominating Committee

Chairman: Richmond P. Miller, 1515 Cherry Street, Phila. 2, Pa.

William M. Maier Arthur M. Dewees Horace M. Lippincott Lyman W. Riley

#### **Publication Committee**

Chairman: Carroll Frey, 308 Ogden Avenue, Swarthmore, Pa.

Henry J. Cadbury Frederick B. Tolles Richmond P. Miller H. Justice Williams

